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Twenty-five Philippine languages and dialects were studied to determine the manner in which words, clauses, sounds, and sentences group together to make up units larger than the sentence. Data obtained were analyzed according to tagmemic theory. The introduction to this volume (see also AL 002 032 and AL 002 033) gives a brief orientation to the concepts and terminology of tagmemics. Four points are emphasized: (1) trimodal structuring, (2) pattern and function, (3) hierarchy, and (4) system. Three parts comprise the majority of the document. Part 1 discusses discourse structure; Part 2 deals with paragraph structure. The third part presents the grammar and lexicon in Dibabawon procedural narrative discourse. Illustrative data are given mostly in the form of summary and sampling in English translation. (DO)

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DISCOURSE, PARAGRAPH, and SENTENCE STRUCTURE in SELECTED PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES

VOLUME I

DISCOURSE and PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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December 1968

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
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AL 002 031

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VOLUME I

DISCOURSE AND PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE

Contract No. 0-8-062838-0391

Robert E. Longacre

December 1968

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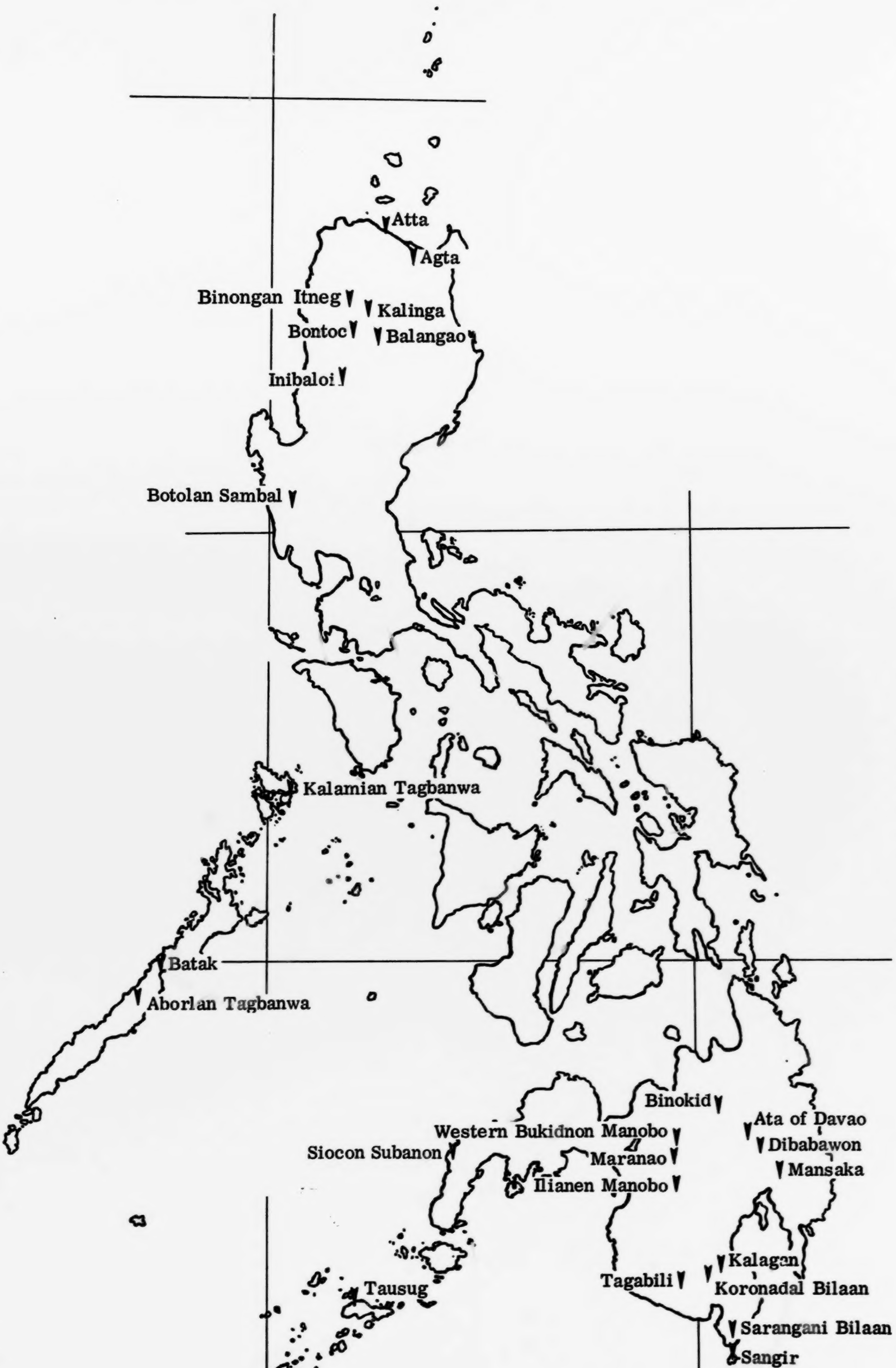
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Binokid
Ata of Davao
Western Bukidnon Manobo
Dibabawon
Siocon Subanon
Maranao
Mansaka
Ilianen Manobo
Kalagan
Tagabili
Koronadal Bilaan
Tausug
Sarangani Bilaan
Sangir

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PREFACE

This three-volume report summarizes the results of two field workshops conducted in the Philippines under the Office of Education Contract #0-8-062838-0391 from September, 1967 to May, 1968. As Principal Investigator I worked with colleagues (of the Summer Institute of Linguistics) who had lived among the cultural minorities of the Philippines, learned to speak their languages, and investigated their phonological and grammatical structures. My job was to carry their research to hierarchical levels not regularly investigated by linguists: (a) the discourse; (b) the paragraph; (c) the sentence (as a domain of clause combination). The previous experience of my colleagues, their speaking knowledge of the languages, and their disciplined capacity for work were all important factors in making this project a success.

The frontispiece of this first volume is a map on which is indicated the geographical locations of the 25 languages and dialects from which the subject data of this report are drawn. An inspection of this map shows that the languages are from four geographical regions: (1) northern Luzon; (2) Palawan; (3) Mindanao; (4) the Sulu Archipelago. The Visayas--the mass of smaller islands found between Luzon and Mindanao--are not represented in that this region for the most part speaks dialects of one of the major languages of the Philippines: Visayan or Cebuano. The island of Mindoro to the north is likewise unrepresented here even though it is inhabited by a number of cultural minority groups, in that the Summer Institute of Linguistics is not at present studying languages on that island.

I list below the names of the linguistic investigators who formally participated in the project along with the language or dialect that each studies and its geographical location. In parenthesis after each name appears one or more of the following symbols: S, P, or D which indicate the production of writeups covering sentence, paragraph, and discourse respectively. The writeups, of course, vary greatly in their scope and detail. The sentence writeups, e.g., range from Ward's brief 8-page characterization of Maranao sentences (as prefatory to his major concentration of paragraph and discourse) to Reid's 250-page description of Bontoc. Most sentence descriptions, however, are in an intermediate range of 20-50 manuscript pages.

	(name)	(language and location)
1.	Abbott, Miss Shirley (P,D)	Ata Manobo; northwestern Davao, Mindanao
2.	Abrams, Mr. Norman (S)	Koronadal Bilaan; southern Cotabato, Mindanao
3.	Ashley, Mr. Seymour (S)	Tausug; Sulu Island
4.	Ballard, Mr. D. Lee (S)	Inibaloi; Mt. Province, Luzon
5.	Barnard, Miss Myra Lou, M.A.(P,D)	Dibabawon Manobo; north-central Davao, Mindanao
6.	Blackburn, Miss Barbara (P,D)	Sarangani Bilaan; Cotabato, Mindanao
7.	Elkins, Mr. Richard, Ph.D. (S)	Western Bukidnon Manobo; Bukidnon, Mindanao
8.	Forster, Miss Jannette, M.A. (S)	Dibabawon Manobo; north-central Davao, Mindanao
9.	Gieser, Mr. C. Richard, M.A. (S)	Kalinga; Kalinga-Apayao Province, Luzon
10.	Hall, Mr. William C. (S)	Siocon Subanon; Zamboanga del Norte, Mindanao
11.	Hartung, Miss Patricia (S)	Ata Manobo; northwestern Davao, Mindanao
12.	Howison, Miss Nancy (S)	Tagabili; southwestern Cotabato, Mindanao
13.	Hussey, Mr. Stewart, M.A. (S)	Aborlan Tagbanwa; Palawan Island
14.	Lusted, Miss Ruth (S)	Atta Negrito; northwestern Cagayan, Luzon
15.	Maryott, Mr. Kenneth (S)	Sangir; southern coast of Mindanao
16.	Mayfield, Mr. Roy (S)	Agta; central Cagayan, Luzon
17.	Minot, Miss Harriet (S,P,D)	Botolan Sambal; central Zambales, Luzon
18.	Murray, Mr. Donald (S)	Kalagan; Cotabato, Mindanao
19.	Porter, Miss Doris (P,D)	Tagabili; Cotabato, Mindanao
20.	Post, Miss Ursula (S)	Binukid (Manobo); northern and central Bukidnon, Mindanao
21.	Reid, Mr. Lawrence, Ph.D.(S,P,D)	Bontoc; Mt. Province, Luzon
22.	Rodda, Miss Rosemary (S)	Batak; Palawan Island
23.	Ruch, Mr. Edward, M.A. (S)	Kalamian Tagbanwa; Palawan Island
24.	Shand, Miss Jean (S)	Ilianen Manobo; Cotabato, Mindanao
25.	Shetler, Miss Joanne (S)	Balangao; Mt. Province, Luzon

	(name)	(language and location)
26.	Svelmoe, Mr. Gordon (S)	Mansaka; eastern Davao, Mindanao
27.	Svelmoe, Mrs. Thelma (P)	Same as above
28.	Walton, Mr. Charles (P)	Itneg; Abra, Luzon
29.	Walton, Mrs. Janice (S)	Same as above
30.	Ward, Mr. Robert (S,P,D)	Maranao; Lanao del Sur, Mindanao
31.	Whittle, Miss Claudia (P,D)	Atta Negrito; northwestern Cagayan, Luzon
32.	Wrigglesworth, Miss Hazel, MA(P,D)	Ilianen Manobo; Cotabato, Mindanao

This report is based then on the researches and unpublished writings of others. The subject data, although the work of many people, are nevertheless somewhat homogeneous in viewpoint and terminology in view of my direction in the capacity of Principal Investigator. The theory of sentence structure is that enunciated in my article 'The Notion of Sentence', Georgetown Monograph 20 (1967), pp. 15-25. This theory, while changed in no essential particular, was applied in the Philippines with a scope and depth exceeding all previous work. The theory of discourse structure is foreshadowed in the volume 'Totonac: from Clause to Discourse' by Aileen Reid, Ruth Bishop, Ella Button, and Longacre (the Summer Institute of Linguistics, Norman, Oklahoma, 1968). While the present theory of paragraph structure is foreshadowed in this same volume, the insights gained in the Philippine workshops in the fall of 1967 involve an approach here published for the first time.

In that the papers from which I quote are all unpublished I have not indicated precisely the source of a quotation in each instance. Rather, names of papers and authors are given at the end of each main section, and a quotation is tagged as to author in the body of the section itself. Furthermore, I have not hesitated to quote extensively when such quotation seemed called for. Quotations have been adpated to the general format of this paper in regard to citation of language forms and reference to constructions on various levels. It is my fervent wish and plan to see many of these articles submitted for publication in their own right as soon as practical.

Several colleagues served as field consultants with varying loads of responsibility: Miss Jannette Forster, Mr. Kenneth Maryott, Miss Ursula Post, Mr. Richard Elkins, Miss Doris Porter, Mr. Lawrence Reid, Mr. Charles Walton, Mr. Norman Abrams. Mr. Richard Roe bore a heavy consultant load in both

workshops where his consultant role precluded his doing any research in the Isneg language of Luzon, which he has studied for a number of years.

Miss Mary Jane Gardner served as Project Secretary during my entire stay in the Philippines. She also bore a heavy load of responsibility which advanced the project as a whole but precluded her doing any research on Binukid (of Mindanao) which she has studied for some time. Mrs. Patricia Young, Miss Neftali Alicea, and Miss Carolyn Kent assisted as secretaries in the preparation of the final report.

I also gratefully acknowledge the cooperation of the Philippine Branch of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in providing us the adequate and attractive facilities of the Nasuli base (near Malaybalay on Mindanao) for the workshop sessions. Thanks are especially due to Mr. Lester Troyer, and Mr. Thomas Lyman, directors of the Philippine Branch, whose ungrudging endorsement of the project set the tone for the rank and file of the Philippine Branch membership. Thanks are also in order to Mr. Richard Luartes, director of the publications department at Nasuli, for his cooperation in duplication of workshop materials and preparation of diagrams for the final report. Mr. Al Bergstedt, treasurer of the Philippine Branch, assisted in no small way by managing local project finances.

Thanks also are in order to the international officers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, especially to Kenneth L. Pike, the President of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and director of this project. As Project Director, Mr. Pike often gave time unstintingly to project matters--even to the point of visiting us for ten days in the Philippines at the end of December, 1967. Mr. Kenneth Watters, the Treasurer of the Summer Institute of Linguistics administrated the finances for the whole project during its duration.

We acknowledge also the cooperation of the Philippine government in extending visas as well as the unexpected favor of a visit from the Hon. Rafael M. Salas, Executive Secretary of Republic of the Philippines, March 7, 1968, during the second workshop.

I also acknowledge the more than perfunctory interest and sponsorship of the division of Foreign Studies, Office of Education, U.S. Dept. of Health, Education, and Welfare, viz. Mr. Al Sturms, the former director, Mr. Stanley Wilcox, the acting director, Mrs. Julia Petrov, and Mr. William Higgins.

The work of the whole project was greatly facilitated by concordances of native text material made on the IBM computer of the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-270 of the National Science Foundation. I appreciate the foresight of my colleague, Mr. Joseph Grimes, in respect to the possible value of such mechanically prepared concordances for linguistic research. Of all the languages studied in the Philippine workshops, only the following lack concordances: Agta (Roy Mayfield), K. Bilaan (Norman Abrams), B. Sambal (Harriet Minot), and Sangir (Kenneth Maryott).

Finally, acknowledgement must be made of the ultimate source of our data, the speakers of the minor languages of the Philippines who have received linguistic investigators into their communities, cooperated with them in their language learning programs, supplied them with informants and shared with them their oral literature, folklore, and values. Linguistic data of this sort is inseparable from the humanity of those who use the languages. If something of the nature of language has been learned from the study of discourses in these various Philippine languages, the discourses and languages in which they are spoken come to us redolent of those who speak them. To the 'little' peoples of the Philippines we dedicate, then these volumes with most sincere wishes for their success in the quest for the good life.

INTRODUCTION

In that these three volumes apply tagmemic theory to the analysis of Philippine languages, I include here a brief orientation to the concepts and terminology of tagmemics.[1] Four points are emphasized: (1) trimodal structuring; (2) pattern and function; (3) hierarchy; (4) system.

(1) It is evident that language is in some sense trimodally structured. An exhaustive description of a language must include (a) phonology (including not just phonemes but the structure of syllables and of higher level groupings based on degrees of stress and varieties of juncture; (b) grammar; and (c) lexicon, i.e. the study of the lexical resources of a language. The latter in turn, however, leads to the consideration of situational roles and logical relationships that are by no means in one-to-one correspondence with the grammatical units. Thus, in Vol. I some attention is paid to lexical versus grammatical relationships--especially in regard to certain paragraph types (NARRATIVE and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS). Furthermore, in the third main section of Vol. I (jointly authored with Myra Lou Barnard) an attempt is made to discuss grammar and lexicon in rather narrow context (one discourse genre in one particular language) yet with attention not only to the paragraph but to the sentence and discourse as well.

Lexicon--or lexical structure--as posited here is in some respects similar to the deep structure posited in current transformational grammar--especially of the sort developed by Fillmore. Nevertheless, lexicon as used in a tagmemic context is not entirely equivalent to deep structure in a transformational-generative context. Lexical structure as here posited is probably not 'deep' enough to please a transformationalist. On the other hand, deep structure as posited by a transformationalist is too abstract in certain respects to please a tagmemicist. Above all, a tagmemicist does not want to equate surface structure with phonological structure. While grammatical structure may display more phonological constraints than does lexical structure, a tagmemicist believes that grammatical structure is worth studying in its own right as opposed to both phonological and lexical structures.

(2) Tagmemics emphasizes pattern and the functional relations within a pattern. Man is apparently a pattern generating and pattern interpreting creature. Speech in

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[1] cf. also Longacre, 'Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemics' Lg 41.65-76 (1965).

particular reflects orientation to pattern. A tagmemicist therefore accepts a certain amount of redundancy in grammatical description in that he describes similar but differing patterns. While systems of types also constitute patterns of speech, the tagmemicist is especially interested in the syntagmeme as a patterned, contrastive abstract string, and the tagmeme as a functional point in that pattern. To illustrate the relations of syntagmeme and tagmeme I cite some Turkish data (from H. A. Gleason, 1961) and some Trique data (from Longacre, 1966)[2].

In the following Turkish data I have changed slightly a few of Gleason's name labels, have posited an unmarked third person singular, and adopted the sort of morphophonemic symbolization employed by Lees[3].

Order 1:

-Il	'passive'
-Is	'reciprocal'
-In	'reflexive'

Order 2:

-tIr	'causative'

Order 3:

-mE	'negative'

Order 4:

-Ir	'habitual action'
-Iyor	'continuous action'
-EǰEk	'contemplated action'
-mElI	'obligatory action'

Order 5:

-dI	'past'

Order 6:

-lEr	'plural of third person'

Order 7:

-sE	'conditional'

Order 8:

-m	'first person singular actor'
-k	'first person plural actor'
-n	'second person singular actor'
-nIz	'second person plural actor'
-0	(unmarked) 'third person singular actor'

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[2] The following quotes and abstracts from an article "Tagmemics" to appear in *Word*.

[3] Robert Lees, *The Phonology of Modern Standard Turkish*, Bloomington, 1961.

Order 9:

-nI	'interrogative'

Order 10:

-Im	'first person singular actor'
-Iz	'first person plural actor'
-sIn	'second person singular actor'
-sInIz	'second person plural actor'
	(unmarked) 'third person singular actor'

This line-up reflects the usual Americanist way of plotting relative orders of affixes within a verb. Since it is a composite line-up embracing all sorts of verbs that may be found anywhere in the language, it must be qualified by some co-occurrence rules:

(a) Orders 8 and 10 do not co-occur.

(b) Order 8 may co-occur with both 5 and 7; order 10 co-occurs with neither.

(c) Order 6 co-occurs with only the unmarked member in Order 8 or 10.

These restrictions point to a basic cleavage in the Turkish verb. Especially indicative of such a cleavage is the occurrence of the two series of person markers--one (8) occurring before the interrogative marker and compatible with Orders 5 and 7, the other (10) occurring after the interrogative marker and incompatible with these two orders. Order 5 is the only real tense, 'past', that is marked (as opposed to aspect which is marked in 4).

At this point--and with no further data required--tagmemics unhesitatingly separates the Turkish verb into two contrasting patterns. The difference between choice of person markers is not a trivial one; rather this difference affects the whole string and sets up contrast between two constructions. The adequate labelling of these constructions depends on some understanding of their role in Turkish syntax. Robert Lees indicates that the construction containing Orders 5 and/or 7 and with person markers preceding the interrogative is the finite verb while the shorter construction with another set of person markers following the interrogative is really a verbal noun.[4]

The two arrays are preceded by a co-occurrence rule; Plural of 3p. X only with Subj./Subĵ:0. (Alternatively plural of 3p.-lEr could be put into the same columns with Subj./Subĵ--in which case an obligatory permutation rule would be needed to move it into its proper physical slot).

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[4] Lees, 1961, 30-31

Verbal Noun (Turkish)

+Stem	±Voice	±Cause	±Neg	±Asp	±Pl (3)	±Int.	+Subj.
	-Il	-tIr	-mE	-Ir	-lEr	-mI	-Im
	'passive'			'habitual'			'1 p.s.'
	-Is			-Iyor			-Iz
	'reciprocal'			'continuous'			'1 p.pl.'
	-In			-EǰEk			-sIn
	'reflexive'			'contemplated'			'2 p.s.'
				-mElI			-sInIz
				'obligatory'			'2 p.pl.'
							-Ø
							'3 p.s.'

Finite Verb (Turkish)

+Stem	±Voice	±Cause	±Neg	±Asp	∓Past	±Pl (3)	∓Cond.	+Subj.	Int.
	-Il 'passive' -Is 'reciprocal' -In 'reflexive'	-tIr	-mE	-Ir 'habitual' -Iyor 'continuous' 'EǰEk 'contemplated' -mElI 'obligatory'	-dI	-lEr	-sE	-m '1 p.s.' -k '1 p.pl.' -n '2 p.s.' -nIz '2 p.pl.' -0 '3 p.s.'	-mI

The basic vocabulary of tagmemics can now be illustrated in reference to the above. Each of the horizontal array of columns is a syntagmeme, i.e. a contrasting construction type. Each column is a tagmeme, i.e. a function-set correlation. The function is indicated at the head of the column; the set of manifesting items occurs within the column. The relation between function and set is exponence. Thus, Neg has but one exponent, the unit set -mE. Asp has a set of four exponents. The string, Stem Voice Cause Neg Subj, is a reading of the verbal noun. Such reading has no obligatory-optional concatenation symbols. It may include any possible combination of tagmemes as indicated by these symbols. The string, Stem Voice Neg Past Pl (3) Subj Int. is a reading of the finite verb. The string Kɨr ('break') -Il -mE -dI -lEr -mI is an exponential combination based on the reading just given for the finite verb. The exponential combination chooses at random the verb stem Kɨr 'break'. In Voice we choose among three exponents; -Il 'passive' is selected. There is but one exponent of Neg: -mE. Likewise, there is but one exponent of Past: -dI. There is likewise but one exponent of Pl (3): -lEr. The reading of Pl (3) requires, however, that the null exponent of Subj be selected Ø. Int likewise has but one exponent: -mI. The string kɨrɨlmadɨlarmɨ, 'weren't they broken?' is an actually occuring phonemic form based on the above exponential combination.

The above show that a syntagmeme is composed of tagmemes. To show another relation of tagmeme and syntagmeme we turn to some Trique data. In that tagmemics approaches word structure and syntactic structure in no significantly different way we give here a similar sort of bidimensional array for the Trique intransitive clause. P_i = intransitive predicate; A = actor; L = location; T = temporal. Superscripts 2 indicate that a symbol may be read twice. Within the columns, Ph_0 (i.e. Ph_{1-6}) are verb phrases; Ph_{10} are noun phrases; Ph_{20} are coordinate and appositional phrases ; Ph_{30} are temporal; Ph_{40} are relator-axis (prepositional); Ph_{80} are pronominal. Subscripts i, n, l, and t designate intransitive, nominal, locational, and temporal sub-classes of phrase types not structurally differentiated. M_f = fused morpheme (tone substitution marking); M_{sf} = semi-fused morpheme (repetition of stem-vowel with a tone); S_{dep} = dependent sentence; Cl_{5l} = Clause type 5, (dependent) locational; Cl_{5t} = clause type 5, (dependent) temporal.

Cl_2 =	$+P_i$	$+A$:	$\pm L^2$:	$\pm T^2$
	Ph_{1i}	Ph_{11-15}	Ph_{11-12}	Ph_{21-22t}
	Ph_{2i}	Ph_{21-22n}	Ph_{41l}	Ph_{31-33}
	$Ph_{3.2}$	Ph_{81-84}	Cl_{5l}	Ph_{41t}
	Ph_{4-5}	M_f		Cl_{5t}
	Ph_{6i}	M_{sf}		
		S_{dep}		

Some rules accompany this array:

1. Read no more than 4.
2. PALTv(AvLvT)P...
3. LTvTL.
4. LT~→L:Cl_{5l}; Tl~→T:Cl_{5t}.

These rules together with the bidimensional array comprise the *tagmemic apparatus* for this clause type in Trique. Rule 1 is a reading rule; it tells us to read no more than four tagmemes. We can, therefore have the maximal readings PALT, PALL, PATT; we cannot read *PALLT or *PALTT. Rules 2 and 3 are permutation rules. Rule 2 tells us that we can permute either A or L or T (but no more than one) to the fore of P. Rule 3 tells us that we can permute LT TO TL. Rule 4 is an exponence rule. It tells us that when L precedes T, then L may not have a dependent locational clause as its exponent. Likewise, when T precedes L, then T may not have a dependent temporal clause as its exponent. In Trique as in English if we wish to say that it was seven years ago that we went where someone lived it is misleading to say 'I went where you lived seven years ago'; the phrase 'seven years ago' falls into the subordinate clause and ceases to be an exponent of T of the main clause. We must rather permute T to the fore (as permitted by rule 2): 'Seven years ago I went where you lived'.

Examination of the tagmemic apparatus for the Trique clause illustrates a further relation of tagmeme and syntagmeme, i.e. a syntagmeme may be an exponent of a tagmeme. To summarize the exponents illustrated in both the Turkish verb types and the Trique intransitive clause we may say: *The exponents of tagmemes are syntagmemes and morphemes*. We can simplify this to say 'The exponents of tagmemes are syntagmemes' provided that we are willing to define morpheme as a syntagmeme with zero internal grammatical organization.

A word is in order regarding syntagmemic contrast. Following a set of criteria which will be briefly summarized here we obtain a discrete number of syntagmemes on a given level in a given language. Why do we stop where we do in positing types? Why do we not posit fewer types? Why not more types? It can be argued with some reason that structural contrast is a cline on which we can distinguish various grades of delicacy (Neo-Firthian usage). We return, however, at this point to a basic supposition of tagmemic, viz. that human behavior is patterned; and that comparable and contrastive patterns are relevant to linguistics. We have set, then, our criteria for syntagmemic contrast at a point where we hope to obtain constructions of median complexity, maximum comparability, and ease of hierarchical cross-reference.

Syntagmemic contrast is, then, in reference to three considerations: (1) the internal tagmemic structure of the syntagmeme; (2) the distribution of the syntagmeme (as an exponent of tagmemes) in other (usually higher level) syntagmemes; and (3) the distribution of the syntagmeme within a system of syntagmemes. The second consideration involves choice between contrasting structures as exponents of a tagmeme, e.g. choice among various phrase types as exponents of Actor in the Trique intransitive clause. Dependent and independent construction (e.g. clauses) characteristically go in different slots, however. The dependent clause either occurs embedded in a phrase or nesting within another clause. Independent clauses normally occur in neither place. Systemic consideration, as seen in (3) constitute an important ancillary criterion. Number (1) brings us to insist that more than one structural difference is required in the internal structures of two syntagmemes. One difference is usually insufficient since the difference may simply indicate a variation at one point in the syntagmeme (say, addition of an optional element) rather than contrasting organizations of two syntagmemes. Nevertheless, one difference reinforced by considerations (2) and (3) may be sufficient to separate syntagmemes. On the other hand, more than two differences may still not indicate syntagmemic contrast, when all the differences are clearly conditioned by context and thus not genuinely contrastive according to (2).

We have now defined and exemplified tagmeme, syntagmeme, and exponence, as well as tagmemic apparatus, bidimensional array, readings, permutations, and exponential combinations. The first three concepts are seen to be related in that: (a) exponence is the intra-tagmemic relation of function to set; (b) syntagmemes are composed of tagmemes; and (c) syntagmemes and morphemes are exponents of tagmemes.

(3) Hierarchical structure characterizes phonology and lexicon as well as grammar. In grammar, hierarchy is the spacing of constructions on levels from morpheme (level of zero internal grammatical construction) up to discourse (level of maximal grammatical construction). With these two levels as lower and upper bounds of hierarchy the other levels take their place as intermediate levels of combination: stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph. Stems are derivational units. Words are inflectional units. Phrases express modification or linkage. Clauses express predications. Sentences are propositions which may concatenate, oppose, balance, or report predications. Paragraphs are units in developing a discourse. The levels are partly defined by such internal characteristics as these, partly by their hierarchical placement on the scale from morpheme to discourse.

Ultimately, in setting up an hierarchical system we must work back and forth between levels and syntagmemes on a level. We must meet the twin demands for plausible contrasting syntagmemes, and plausible contrasting levels.

Syntagmemes on any level are composed primarily of tagmemes with two sorts of exponence: (1) exponents from the next lower level; (2) exponents (functional morphemes) that are from the lowest level (that of zero internal grammatical organization). While the latter are found on all levels of construction, particular functional morphemes are often limited to one or a few levels of construction which they help identify and establish. Thus, derivational functional morphemes belong to the stem level and inflectional morphemes to the word level. While *and* and *or* function on both phrase and sentence levels in English, *if* is limited to the sentence level. *Amen* is a functional particle on the discourse level. Functional morphemes when occurring anywhere but on the stem-level are a type of level-skipping (to zero). Nevertheless, they are so important that both this type of exponence and descending exponence (see below) are considered to constitute *primary exponence*.

Primary exponence is exemplified in diagram 1 of the English sentence *The next generation can have fewer sex offenders if contemporary*, *misinformed*, *adult attitudes can be corrected*. The whole sentence could, of course, be a one sentence discourse; more probably, however, it comes from a larger discourse consisting of several paragraphs. The whole sentence is, then, an exponent of some paragraph-level tagmeme. As a general conditional sentence it consists of three tagmemes: apodosis, hypothesis (exponent is the functional morpheme *if*) and protasis. The exponent of apodosis tagmeme is the declarative active transitive clause *the next generation can have fewer sex offenders*. The exponent of protasis is the declarative passive transitive clause *contemporary*, *misinformed adult attitudes can be corrected*. The first clause consists of three tagmemes: subject-as-actor, active predicate, and object, whose exponents are attributive noun phrase (NP_1), active verb phrase (VP_1) and attributive noun phrase (NP_1). The second clause has two component tagmemes: subject-as-goal and passive predicate. While attributive noun phrase is, again, the exponent of subject-as-goal, the passive verb phrase (VP_2) is exponent of passive predicate. The various phrases have in turn their component tagmemes. In the noun phrases we have identifier (morpheme *the*), ordinal (morpheme *next*), head (noun word) *in the next generation*; quantity (adjective word), $modifier_3$ (noun word) *in fewer sex offenders*: $modifier_{1a}$ (adjective word), $modifier_{ij}$ (verb word); modifier $_{1b}$ (noun word) head (noun word), in *contemporary*, *misinformed*, *adult attitudes*. In the verb phrases

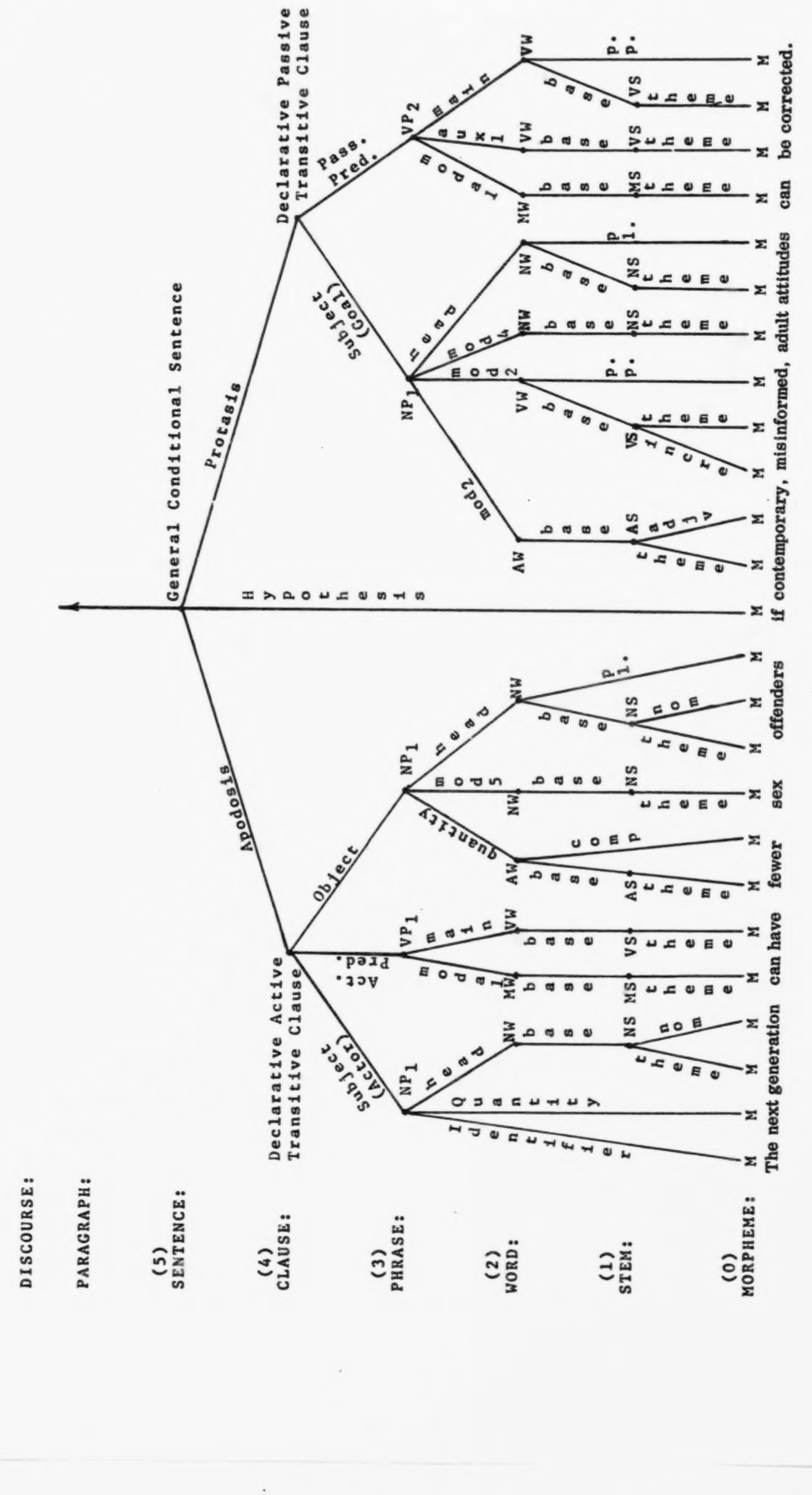
DISCOURSE:
PARAGRAPH:
(5) SENTENCE:
(4) CLAUSE:
(3) PHRASE:
(2) WORD:
(1) STEM:
(0) MORPHEME:
General Conditional Sentence
Apodosis
Hypothesis
Protasis
Declarative Active Transitive Clause
Declarative Passive Transitive Clause
Subject (Actor)
Act. Pred.
Object
Subject (Goal)
Pass. Pred.
NP1
VP1
NP1
NP1
VP2
Identifier
Quantity
head
modal
main
quantity
mod5
head
mod2
mod2
mod4
head
modal
auxil
main
NW
MW
VW
AW
NW
NW
AW
VW
NW
NW
MW
VW
VW
base
NS
MS
VS
AS
NS
NS
AS
VS
NS
NS
MS
VS
VS
theme
nom
comp
pl.
adj
incr
p.p.
p.p.
M
The next generation can have fewer sex offenders if contemporary, misinformed, adult attitudes can be corrected.

DIAGRAM 1

we have: modal, main (*can have*) and modal, aux$_2$, main (*can be corrected*). Words, in turn are composed of an obligatory base tagmeme (various contrasting base tagmemes are not distinguished on the diagram) plus or minus an optional inflectional affix tagmeme: the comparative affix *-er* in *fewer*, pluralizer *-z* in *offenders* and *attitudes*; past particle ending *-d/t* in *misinformed* and *corrected*. Stems are exponents of base tagmemes. Stems in turn are composed of an obligatory theme tagmeme (various contrasting theme tagmemes are not here distinguished) plus or minus some derivative affix. Stem is the last level of grammatical organization below which lies the morpheme.

A tagmemic tree diagram, as here illustrated, has regular banks of nodes; has labelled branches (functions) as well as nodes (exponents); and is represented as part of a larger tree structure, the discourse.

Secondary exponence is recursive. Recursive exponents of tagmemes are from the same level as the tagmemes themselves. Thus, stem can occur within stem as in *ungentlemanliness* which is a noun stem the exponent of whose theme tagmeme is an adjective stem ungentlemanly. In turn the exponent of theme tagmeme of the latter is another adjective stem *gentlemanly*. The exponent of theme tagmeme of the latter is a noun stem *gentleman* which has two theme tagmemes whose exponents are morphemes *gentle* and *man*. Three derivative morphemes *-ness*, *un-*, and *-ly* manifest the tagmemes nominalizer, privative, and adjectivizer.

Recursion is also frequent on the phrase level where such nests occur as *the serious study of that two-thirds of the surface of the earth*. Without taking time to unravel and diagram this nest, we note that it is an alternation of attributive noun phrase (the phrase as a whole has this structure viz. identifier: *the*; modifier$_{ih}$: *serious*; head: *study*; post-head modifier: *of that two-thirds of the surface of the earth*) and relator-axis phrase (relator: *of*; axis: *that two-thirds of the surface of the earth*). Each *of* signals onset of a relator-axis phrase. Each *the* or *that* signals onset of an attributive noun phrase.

Similarly frequent is recursion on the sentence level (and well exemplified for Philippine languages in Vol. II). Sentence type can nest within sentence type as in the following English sentence: *Had they taken a sword and threatened to run him through, or held a club ready to dash out his brain, he would have died saying, "No. Never"*. The whole is a contrary-to-fact conditional sentence. The exponent of protasis tagmeme is an alternative sentence: *Had they taken a sword and threatened to run him through or held a club ready to dash out his brain* (with the question inversion possible in the protasis of a contrary-to-fact sentence).

The exponent of statement tagmeme of the alternative sentence is a coordinate sentence: *Had they taken a sword and threatened to run him through*(?). Deletions of the auxiliary and the intrusive subject before *threatened* and *held* is a permissible pattern of deletion in coordinate and alternative sentences.

Recursion is also frequent on both paragraph and discourse levels. Thus, many paragraphs are not linear successions of sentences but involve subgrouping of sentences within the main paragraph. Likewise, scarcely any discourse of much length and complexity is a linear succession of paragraphs. Rather paragraphs group into subdiscourses, whether subnarratives in a story or subpoints in a sermon. Recursion on both paragraph and discourse level is abundantly illustrated for Philippine languages in Vol. I.

Secondary exponence (recursion) does not vitiate the witness of primary exponence to hierarchical structuring in language. Recursion is identifiable as something apart from primary exponence. Thus, derivative affixes in English are a recognizable category of affixes. When we find several of these affixes occurring together in the same form, then we know that we have an instance of recursive exponence on the stem level. On the phrase-level recursion is identifiable by the occurrence of prepositions or noun phrase initial items (*of*, *the*, *that*) in what is apparently phrase medial; these relators or initial items signal onset of a phrase acting as recursive exponent of a tagmeme within another phrase. On the sentence level tell-tale distribution of such conjunctions as *and*, *but*, *or*, *if*, and *unless* marks recursion.

While primary exponence gives string structures in n-ary relations recursive exponence creates nests of constructions which can never be successfully analyzed as simple linear strings and often are binary. Thus the English sentence quoted above is not a simple chain of clauses: (1) *Had they taken a sword*, and (2) *had they threatened to run him through*, or (3) *had they held a club ready to dash out his brains*, (4) *he would have died saying*, "*No*. *Never*". A nest is a structure amenable only to some sort of immediate constituent analysis. To analyze it only as a linear string with order classes is to understructure it. The lowest layer in a nest is composed, however, of descending exponents. Ultimately, then, a nest of phrases is composed of words and a nest of sentences is composed of clauses.

Tertiary exponence is of two varities: back-looping and level-skipping (not to zero). Back-looping exponents of tagmemes are syntagmemes from a higher level than that to which the tagmemes belong. In that this is an apparent turning of hierarchy upside down, back-looping is usually specially marked in some way. Thus, when a clause occurs as exponent of modifier tagmeme in a noun phrase it is a subordinate clause: (*the boy*) *that you met yesterday*; (*the house*) *where I was born*; (*the day*) *when you first met her*. Back-looping exponents without such subordination have special suprasegmental features (intonation and juncture) as in *sense-data-ish* (back-looping exponent viz., noun phrase as exponent of stem-level theme tagmeme) versus *brackish*. Notice also the run on, sustained intonation contour with a rather marked juncture at the end of the back-looping exponent (sentence as exponent of phrase-level modifier) in the following: *his she-loves-me-she-loves-me-not attitude of studied indifference*.......versus the closer juncture in *his nonchalant attitude of studied indifference* (which has descending exponence). At any rate even a back-looping exponent eventually breaks down into constituents from lower levels. Ultimately, the chain of exponence eventuates in primary exponence.

Another variety of tertiary exponence is level-skipping exponence (not to zero). A sentence-topic tagmeme *as for John* (*his horse came in last*) may have a phrase as its exponent. Here, the exponent of a sentence-level tagmeme is not a clause as in descending hierarchy but rather a phrase. The sentence topic is of considerable importance in Philippine languages (Vol. II).

None of these rather clearly identifiable varities of secondary and tertiary exponence vitiate the fact that we may set up a hierarchy from morpheme to discourse with discrete levels, subject to the general law of combination which we call primary exponence.

All varieties of exponence are summarized and presented in diagram 2. The vertical axis represents tagmemes on various levels. The horizontal axis represents varieties of exponence. At the intersection of the two axes, cells are filled with symbols for tagmemes from various levels. Descending and recursive exponence are the only complete columns. The chart is carried out only to third-degree back-looping (e.g. stem level tagmeme with clause as exponent) and third-degree level-skipping (e.g. discourse-level tagmeme whose exponent is a phrase--as in the title of a book).

The chart has the value of accommodating various types of exponence in one coherent scheme. It should not be allowed to obscure, however, the distinction between primary, secondary, and tertiary exponence, nor to give the impression that syntagmemes or morphemes on any level can be exponents of tagmemes on all levels--without qualification.

	Level-skipping^3	Level-skipping^2	Level-skipping^1	Descending	Recursive	Back-looping^1	Back-looping^2	Back-looping^3
T_D	P	C	S	¶	D			
$T_{\P}$	W	P	C	S	¶	D		
T_S	St	W	P	C	S	¶	D	
T_C	M	St	W	P	C	S	¶	D
T_P		M	St	W	P	C	S	¶
T_W			M	St	W	P	C	S
T_{St}				M	St	W	P	C

DIAGRAM 2

Although the levels posited, (morpheme, stem, word, phrase, clause, sentence, paragraph, discourse) constitute a very common hierarchical arrangement among the world's languages, it is not universal. One signal exception is the Mayan language stock of Central America. In these languages, morpheme, stem, phrase, clause, etc. are posited but it does not seem useful to distinguish word from phrase. The Mayan languages have, therefore, one less level than is found in most languages. A further question is, can there be intermediate levels--say between phrase and clause or between clause and sentence? Could there be, for example, some sort of phrase cluster level? Or should coordinate and appositional phrases be considered to be a separate level? The latter is somewhat appealing in that coordinate and appositional phrase can be considered to be composed of noun phrases. It can be argued that since it is noun phrases that are coordinated and set in apposition, these therefore constitute a further level higher than phrase but lower than clause.

Precisely in questions of this sort a general theory of hierarchy is of relevance. Both coordinate and appositional phrases are necessarily complex, i.e. they must have at least two members. If they are considered to constitute a level, then descending exponence requires that such cluster-level syntagmemes be exponents of clause-level tagmemes and that phrase-level syntagmemes be exponents of cluster-level tagmemes. Unfortunately, however, simple phrases are more common than coordinate and appositional phrases. It then follows that clause-level tagmemes most frequently have as exponents, not the syntagmemes of the posited intermediate cluster level, but syntagmemes from the phrase level. In brief, we have set up three levels so that level-skipping is more frequent than descending hierarchy. In that this is an implausible hierarchical arrangement it must be abandoned. Coordination and apposition constitute, then, simply further phrase types on the phrase level. The same argument holds against most attempts to set up some sort of 'clause cluster level' between clause and sentence.[5]

Hierarchy as here sketched is of considerable relevance to linguistics in that (a) It is a universal feature of language not only in regard to the presence of levels in languages around the world, but in regard to the general number and type of levels that we can expect to find. (b) It is of great taxonomic value in identifying and labelling constructions and their parts. (c) It lends itself to the construction of grammars of considerable generative power.[6] (d) It is a central theoretical concept from which many corollaries and theorems can be deduced. In brief, hierarchy commends itself because of its universality, taxonomic value, generative power, and explanatory-heuristic capacities.

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[5] cf. my own setting up of a 'colon' level intermediate between clause and sentence (Grammar Discovery Procedures, 132, 136-7, 144-8) with subsequent rejections of this Level in "Some Fundamental Insights of Tagmemics", Lg. 41, P.75, fn.23.

(4) Contrasting types on a given level (e.g. clause or sentence) do not occur simply as a list or inventory but constitute a system. There is, for example, no language found yet with a simple list of phonemes that do not constitute a system. Neither, however, should we expect to find a language with a simple list of sentence types that do not constitute a system.

Thus, systems of discourse and paragraph types characterize Vol. I. In Vol. II where we have 24 sentence-level papers to report and abstract there is considerable attention to systems of sentence structure and the parameters of such systems.

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[6] See Grammar Discovery Procedures, pp.22-34; Kamil Zvelebil, "Towards a Taxonomic and Generative Grammar of Tamil", Archiv Orientalni 33.602-13 (1965).

TYPOGRAPHICAL CONVENTIONS

Anywhere in these three volumes:

(1) All capitals and underlining indicate syntagmeme or tagmeme on the DISCOURSE level.

(2) All capitals without underlining indicates a syntagmeme or tagmeme on the PARAGRAPH level.

(3) Capitalization of the initial letter with underlining indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the Sentence level.

(4) Capitalization of the initial letter but without underlining indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the Clause level.

(5) No special typographical device indicates syntagmeme or tagmeme on the phrase level or lower.

PART I

DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

0.1 Theory of discourse structure.

Discourse structure as posited in this volume is based on the following postulates:

(1) Genre refers to a class of discourse types when that class is defined by certain common characteristics; type (syntagmeme) is a more specific term than genre.

(2) In a given language there is a finite number of discourse types which are never mixed or confused.

(3) Nevertheless, discourse-level tagmemes are expounded not only by paragraphs (and occasionally by sentence, phrase or morpheme) but also by embedded discourses which are not necessarily of the same type and genre as the embedding discourse.

(4) Neither is there any necessary correspondence of discourse type with the paragraph types that expound a discourse level tagmeme--although a given discourse type limits the range of the paragraph types that expound its tagmemes.

(5) Paragraphs in discourses are linked in ways partly grammatical (by functional morphemes; by systematic ties between a grammatical part of one paragraph and a grammatical part of another paragraph) and partly lexical (repetition of key words).

(6) Conjunctions that are constituent parts of the clauses and sentences of a discourse may nevertheless find their fullest relevance and meaning in terms of the structure of the discourse as a whole.

(7) Not all discourses are equally well-formed.

0.2 Frequently occurring discourse genre.

In the present project, only prose discourse has been investigated--although poetry and song exist in the oral literature of some of the cultural minorities in the Philippines. Data papers from Botolan Sambal (Luzon), Bilaan, and Tagabili (both on Mindanao) posit four contrasting discourse prose genre: NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, EXPOSITORY, and HORTATORY. NARRATIVE DISCOURSE recounts some sort of story; PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE tells someone how to do something (or at least tells how something is done); EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE, any sort of explanatory essay, simply expounds a subject; HORTATORY DISCOURSE attempts to influence or change conduct and is essentially sermonic--taking the sermon, loosely defined, as a cultural universal.

	Accomplished Time or Time not Focal	+ Projected Time
+ Sequence in Time	NARRATIVE	PROCEDURAL
	1 or 3 person oriented	1/2/3/ person oriented
- Sequence in Time	EXPOSITORY	HORTATORY
	Subject-matter oriented	2 person oriented

DIAGRAM 1: DISCOURSE GENRE

The distinguishing features of the four genre are summarized in Diagram 1. In NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE sequence in time is assumed; in the other two discourse genre such temporal sequence is not basic to the organization of the discourse. In PROCEDURAL and HORTATORY DISCOURSE projected time is focal--whether one is telling someone how to do something or urging him to mend his ways. A further parameter of person orientation also enters in to reinforce these contrasts. While NARRATIVE DISCOURSE can conceivably be in second person, in the NARRATIVE DISCOURSES found in the Philippines, a narrative is primarily oriented either in first or third person. PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE has been found in all three persons in spite of its ostensible purpose which is to instruct someone in how to do something (which might predispose towards the second person). EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is subject-matter oriented; persons come in incidentally to the subject matter and usually are third person. In HORTATORY DISCOURSE, there is a necessary second person orientation.

0.3 Less frequently occurring discourse genre.

Aside from EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE, these four genre are well represented in Philipping languages--although all four have been posited only in the languages mentioned above. They are described in the following sections. Other discourse genre (DRAMATIC, ACTIVITY, and EPISTOLARY), which are less well represented in the languages studied, are described in the final sections of this chapter.

1 The NARRATIVE GENRE.

1.1 Chronological orientation.

The sine qua non of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE is chronological sequence. While both forward projection and backward flashback are possible, nevertheless a chronological scheme is essential to NARRATIVE. Furthermore, the chronology is that of accomplished time.

Lawrence Reid points out that for Bontoc the chronological sequence in accomplished time has a selective influence on the tense forms of the discourse:

> "NARRATIVE DISCOURSE is oriented towards past time. Even though this is the tense orientation, a large proportion of verb forms in the sentence nuclei are nonpast, but are interpreted as past, because it is a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. There is a tendency to use past tense forms heavily in the early sentences of a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. Having established tense orientation as past, the tendency is to revert to non-past forms for the body of the discourse with a return to past at the end of the discourse."

1.2 Person orientation.

NARRATIVES primarily are either in the first or in the third person. The person orientation affects the pronouns used in a NARRATIVE. Thus Reid can say for Bontoc third person dsscourse: "Apart from exponents of Direct Quotations, only third person pronouns, singular and plural, occur throughout the text."

In certain Manobo dialects, third person narrative sometimes shifts to second person as the narrator of the story addresses one of the main dramatis personae. Hazel Wrigglesworth describes this for Ilianan Manobo:....

> "The Manobo narrator presents his story in a conversational tone. From his opening sentence he presents his tale with authenticity and intimacy, convincing his listeners that they, too, are witnessing the event. Note the following examples from NARRATIVE DISCOURSE I and II:
>
> "Text I:S.1 'There we(incl) are with the woman who lived alone.'"
>
> "Text II:S.1 'There we(incl) are with Ukap.'"
>
> "In addition, he achieves his goal by rapidly shifting his narration from the third to the second person within the same sentence. "As long as the character in the spotlight remains unchanged, the second person will be retained throughout that paragraph."

The example that Wrigglesworth presents in Manobo follows (in English translation):

Text II (p.10-13):

S 10 - 'When Ukap heard the words of his mother you went downstairs to look for wood.'

S 11 - 'When you had gathered the sticks, Ukap, you carried them on your shoulders to return home.'

S 12 - 'Then you went up the ladder there.'

S 13 - 'When you arrived in the kitchen, you dropped the wood.'

Ata Manobo text material (from Shirley Abbott) contains similar examples of third person pronouns shifting to second person, but this takes place as frequently between sentences as within a sentence, and rarely lasts beyond the bounds of a single sentence.

1.3 General formula for NARRATIVE DISCOURSE.

The following general formula indicates the tagmemes found in any type of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. It also happens to be the specific formula for DICLIMACTIC NARRATIVE DISCOURSE (with signs + and ± as for that discourse type). Other types of this genre do not include all the tagmemes indicated or the same use of + and ±. None of the exponents of the tagmemes are given here.

±APERTURE ± EPISODE + DENOUMENT + ANTI-DENOUMENT ± CLOSURE ± FINIS.

1.4 Tagmemes that initiate a NARRATIVE.

APERTURE (termed STAGE by Claudia Whittle for Atta) is a discourse-level tagmeme, the purpose of which is to provide temporal and spatial setting and to introduce at least some of the principal dramatis personae. This tagmeme is expounded by either a sentence, an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH (B. Sambal, Bilaan, Tagabili), or an EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE (B. Sambal).

Hazel Wrigglesworth in Ilianen Manobo distinguishes a STAGE tagmeme from APERTURE (much in the way that CLOSURE is distinct from FINIS). STAGE typically sets up a situation which gets a discourse moving but without the de novo aspect of APERTURE. Both instances of STAGE reported by Wrigglesworth are in embedded discourses. It is very possible, therefore, that STAGE and APERTURE are allotagmemes, with the former conditioned by occurrence in dependent, i.e. embedded, discourses.

In Dibabawon written narrative, the APERTURE is regularly preceded by a TITLE. Myra Lou Barnard writes:

> "Title is an obligatory slot even though it probably is one imposed from school training...Oral narrative usually begins with a complete sentence something like the following: 'I will tell you about how it was during the war.' The title slot in the written texts of our corpus is expounded by a noun, a gerund, a gerund phrase, or a noun phrase, one slot of which is filled by an included gerund phrase or a clause."

1.5 Tagmemes that close a NARRATIVE.

CLOSURE tagmeme is distinguished from a FINIS in Sarangani Bilaan and B. Sambal. The latter is expounded by such a sentence as 'Now that is the end,' in these two languages. The CLOSURE tagmeme, however, gives a final commentary on the main participants, such as 'they became rich' or 'they lived happily ever after' (Harriet Minot for B. Sambal). CLOSURE is expounded by a sentence (B. Sambal), EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH, or HORTATORY PARAGRAPH (Tagabili) and these plus NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH as well (S. Bilaan), and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH (Il. Manobo).

Claudia Whittle states that for Atta: "So far CLOSURE has been found only in EPISODIC DISCOURSE and embedded discourse."

In Bontoc NARRATIVE DISCOURSE Lawrence Reid posits a MORAL tagmeme which can occur rather than CLOSURE. Thus, (in his discourse Mfs.55) there occurs as MORAL the Bontoc equivalent of 'This has been about those who have no relatives, that is why it is not good to be talking about those who have no relatives.' In Bontoc, MORAL tagmeme is followed by FINIS.

1.6 Nuclear tagmemes of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE.

The nuclear tagmemes of a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE are: EPISODE, DENOUEMENT, and ANTI-DENOUEMENT (for mutual occurrence of these see specific types of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE below). These nuclear tagmemes show great variety of exponence--greater than in any other discourse genre. Typically, any paragraph type may be an exponent plus embedded discourse of the NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, or EXPOSITORY genre (Bilaan and Tagabili). There may be restriction on DENOUEMENT and ANTI-DENOUEMENT compared to EPISODE. Thus, in S. Bilaan, of all the paragraph types, only NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH is reported as exponent of these two tagmemes, while in B. Sambal, only NARRATIVE and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS are exponents.

Something of the range and variety of exponence in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE may be seen in the following examples. (1) The Maranao text "Red Star over Islam" contains an embedded NARRATIVE DISCOURSE which does not contain a single NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH but consists rather of six EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS (MB 4-9) bound together by consecutive time horizons. (2) The S. Bilaan text on the marriage of Ginang and Nini has two EPISODES and a DENOUEMENT (besides APERTURE and FINIS). These tagmemes are expounded by embedded discourses:EPISODE 1 (courting) and EPISODE 2 (engagement) are expounded by embedded NARRATIVE DISCOURSES. DENOUEMENT (wedding) is expounded, however, by an embedded PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE. The bride-to-be is telling her story, but the wedding has not yet taken place. In the DENOUEMENT she gives, then, not the specific story of her own wedding (which is yet future), but a general procedure on the progress of events at a typical Bilaan wedding. (3) Within this same text while the second embedded NARRATIVE DISCOURSE consists entirely of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, the first embedded NARRATIVE DISCOURSE does not contain a single NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. (4) DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS frequently expound nuclear tagmemes of NARRATIVE DISCOURSES. Thus in the Il. Manobo NARRATIVE DISCOURSE "The Story of Ukap" there occurs at the first (or top) layer of paragraph structure, seventy-one paragraphs, of which fourteen (or about 20%) are some variety of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

1.7 Resultant types of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE.

The presence or absence of certain nuclear tagmemes determines three types of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE: EPISODIC, in which there is a string of episodes not building to a climax; MONOCLIMACTIC, in which episodes build up to a DENOUEMENT or CLIMAX; and DICLIMACTIC, in which there is not only a DENOUEMENT but a recognizable ANTI-DENOUEMENT, i.e., a second CLIMAX or ANTI-CLIMAX. Thus, in the Ilianen Manobo NARRATIVE "The Story of Ukap", the DENOUEMENT recounts Ukap's becoming rich and marrying the datu's daughter and the ANTI-DENOUEMENT recounts Ukap's return to poverty--which is a satisfying ending in that he has exceeded the culturally prescribed boundaries of decorum and propriety by becoming richer than the recognized leaders of the community.

In Ilianen Manobo, Sambal, and Maranao, the three sorts of nuclear tagmemes are posited and three discourse types. In Atta, Claudia Whittle posits only EPISODIC versus CLIMACTIC DISCOURSE but structures the latter with an optional CLIMAX (=DENOUEMENT) and an optimal ANTI-CLIMAX(ANTI-DENOUEMENT). In Bontoc, Ata Manobo, and Tagabili no narratives which contain an ANTI-DENOUEMENT are at present reported. I surmise that all three narrative types occur in all languages. It is, nevertheless, possible that within a particular language and culture--expecially if somewhat isolated from outside influences--discourse types could be restricted.

1.8 A further type of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE is the COMPOUND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, i.e. a collection of narratives joined together into one by a common framework (e.g., an APERTURE and CLOSURE for the whole). Such a construction on the discourse level is the counterpart of coordination on lower levels.

Such a COMPOUND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE expounds POINT 3 of the Maranao EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE "Red Star over Islam". The APERTURE of the COMPOUND NARRATIVE is: 'In the following pages you will hear the story of the cruelty (of Communist rule) from the lips of those who have passed through it'. The *CLOSURE* of the embedded *COMPOUND NARRATIVE DISCOURSE* is an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH (#26 of the text):

> "These stories are common. These are examples of the frightful experiences of the people of Islam who come under communist rule."

The nucleus of the *COMPOUND NARRATIVE* consists of two stories (each expounded by *MONOCLIMACTIC NARRATIVE DISCOURSES*). The *APERTURES* of the two stories are very similar: (1)'My name is Abduriza, I lived in the village of Drinivo in Bulgaria...' (2) 'My name is Tasmohamud. I am a shepherd and I am from Dinao in Uzbikistan...'. The *CLOSURES* are also similar in that both paragraphs conclude with similar sentences: (1) 'But we are thankful that we are freed and can live again believing in the law of God and Mohammed.' (2) 'I am thankful to God that He delivered me from evil.'

1.9 Interparagraph linkage.

Linkage between paragraphs of a *NARRATIVE DISCOURSE* is of two sorts, lexical and grammatical. The latter is discussed first.

Grammatical linkage involves at least three devices: (a) linkage of the final sentence of one paragraph to the initial sentence of the following (tail-head linkage) or summary of one paragraph in the initial sentence of the following; (b) consecutive time horizons in the initial sentences of consecutive paragraphs; (c) relations made explicit through particles and conjunctions.

1.9.1 Tail-head linkage and linkage through summary.

The first device, with S_n of paragraph$_i$ linking to S_1 of paragraph$_j$ is the same device used for intraparagraph narrative linkage. This device is reported in Atta by Claudia Whittle. The narrative in question recounts in first person a man's story of his wife's death by drowning. In the first main paragraph of the discourse, the story is told of the wife and son getting in the boat, crossing the river, and returning--with the boat overturning in the water. The paragraph concludes with 'When the boat had overturned with them, the mother and child were then swimming in the middle of the water'. The next paragraph reintroduces the woman's proper name (not mentioned since the first sentence of the preceding paragraph) and follows with a gerund construction *pakanunnuk* 'swimming' which recapitulates the verb *mannunnunnuk* 'they were swimming' of the concluding sentence of the preceding paragraph: 'Therefore, (as for as what Ikenia was doing) (as they swam) the child swimmer was exhausted from carrying his mother.' The new paragraph is clearly distinguished from the former by the portion of the sentence which mentions the proper name Ikenia but is linked to the preceding paragraph by the next portion of the sentence (which repeats the verb 'swim').

Similarly, in Botolan Sambal, Harriet Minot reports the use of tail-head linkage several times in a text about a monkey and a turtle. Thus one paragraph concludes with 'They both planted.' The next paragraph begins with a particle which often functions as a paragraph marker 'Now', followed by a recapitulatory phrase 'when they had both planted...'. Thus, both paragraph boundary and paragraph linkage are secured. In other cases where linkage of this sort is found paragraph boundary is covert, i.e., the typical slot class structures into which the sentences fall require separate paragraphs.

Similarly, in Ilianen Manobo (NARR. DISCOURSE II, PARAGRAPHS 3 and 4) one paragraph ends with '(Ukap) he returned to his mother', and the following paragraph contains the recapitulation 'when the mother of Ukap saw that her child had returned home..'. Nevertheless, a paragraph boundary is signaled by the particle complex hune ve su 'and then ended' which precedes the recapitulatory stretch and which, according to Hazel Wrigglesworth "marks progress from episode to episode".

This same method of linkage is reported for Sarangani Bilaan, and for Bontoc.

Doris Porter, however, rejects such linkage for Tagabili:

> "Temporal Margins marking episodes do not link to the verb in the previous sentence (last one of the preceding paragraph) but rather mark a new Time Horizon (see below). If verb linkage is present it links either to the previous paragraph as a whole or specifically to the initial sentence of that paragraph."

Presumably a larger corpus of Tagabili NARRATIVE DISCOURSE might reveal examples of S_n of paragraph$_i$ linking to S_1 of paragraph$_j$. Meanwhile, Porter's comment that "if verb linkage is present it links...to the previous paragraph as a whole" reveals a further linkage: paragraph$_i$ linked to S_1 of paragraph$_j$. Thus the action of previous paragraph can be summarized 'and having done this...' in the first sentence of the paragraph that follows.

1.9.2 Consecutive time horizon linkage.

Consecutive time horizons in effect relate S_1 of paragraph_i to S_1 of paragraph_j. The relation is not, however, that of overt lexical recapitulation or reference, but rather one of temporal sequence.

Thus, in the Maranao embedded discourse referred to above under 1.5, although the text does not contain a single NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, it is seen to be a narrative by virtue of the following consecutive time horizons given in the first sentence of each paragraph:

> '...when they (the Bolsheviks) first came to power in 1917...'
> 'During the next ten years...'
> 'In the Second World War...'
> 'Not long after the war...'
> 'From that time on...'
> 'About this time also...'
> 'Recently...'

The Sarangani Bilaan narrative also referred to under 1.5 displays similar use of consecutive time horizons. The opening sentence of the paragraph which expounds APERTURE contains 'One day before, in the month of December....'. EPISODE 1 is expounded by an embedded narrative consisting of four paragraphs and marked with the following time horizons:

> 'That night...'
> 'The days and nights moved on...'
> 'Again the days moved on...'
> 'Again the days moved on...now it was one year and seven months...'

EPISODE 2, also expounded by an embedded narrative, marks time horizons in three of its paragraphs, and employs the other type of linkage already described in its last two paragraphs:

> 'One day...'
> 'One day...'
> 'One day, the morning of the engagement party...'
> 'Now when all—they had gathered together...'
> 'Now, while they were talking...'

It is interesting to note, however, that paragraph 3 of this embedded discourse contains another reference to 'that morning' in the second sentence and has the following as its final sentence: 'And then they waited, and it was noon now, and they arrived.' Thus, while paragraph 4 does not begin with an explicit consecutive time horizon, the latter is given at the close of the previous paragraph. Paragraph 4 reports the long discussion over the bride price. It is therefore clear that the initiatory, 'while they were talking' of paragraph 5 refers to the whole preceding paragraph, not just to the last sentence of that paragraph.

1.9.3 Linkage through particles.

Particles of varying grammatical status may serve to express narrative movement between paragraphs of a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. The paragraphs do not, however, link simply as paragraphs but as exponents of the discourse-level nuclear tagmemes: EPISODE, DENOUEMENT, and ANTI-DENOUEMENT. In that these tagmemes may also be expounded by embedded discourses, the role of linking particle is to link not only paragraphs but paragraphs and embedded discourses.

Discourse level linking particles have been discussed with special care by Hazel Wrigglesworth in Il. Manobo. She distinguishes the grammatical level on which a particle or particle complex occurs from the level in reference to which its function is understood. Thus, for example, while prepositions in such a language as English occur in the phrase-level, their function is understood in reference to the clause-level. In 'a flying saucer was sighted over Lisbon', although 'over Lisbon' is a prepositional phrase and 'over' is therefore an element which occurs on the phrase level, nevertheless the function of 'over' must be understood on the clause level. (In that 'over Lisbon' is a prepositional phrase expounding Location tagmeme, in effect, the function of 'over' is to relate 'was sighted' to 'Lisbon'.)

A very frequent sentence initial element in Il. Manobo is hane which expounds sentence-level Interjection tagmeme. It may occur on the first sentence of a discourse, e.g., 'Behold, here we are with Ukap.' Within a discourse it may "alert the reader to a rapid change of scene". Wrigglesworth goes on to explain:

> "Hane occurs most frequently in its function of marking a new speaker, whether he has been introduced by the narrator or not, sometimes occurring with each successive speaker if the dialogue of each is lengthy."

This particle is not, however, limited to paragraph initial sentences but may freely occur paragraph medial. It links, therefore, elements both on the paragraph and on the discourse level.

The Il. Manobo particle complex engkey pe' be te functions, however, on the discourse rather than the paragraph level--although like hane and the particle complex described below it is also an element of the sentence periphery (in a position after hane). Wrigglesworth explains that the particle complex expounds sentence-level "Antithetical Link tagmeme" and as such introduces "an episode that comes as a surprise or brings unexpected information". It may be translated something on the order of 'What then but....'.

The Il. Manobo sentence-level Antithetical Link tagmeme is also expounded by the particle complex ubpat te. This particle complex is not, however, limited to paragraph initial sentences. It functions, therefore, on both discourse and paragraph levels as does hane. Wrigglesworth assigns ubpat te the meaning of "opposition". It may introduce an EPISODE (or DENOUEMENT) which is balanced against or opposed to the preceding EPISODE. In other cases it introduces a further SPEECH within a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH or the last BUILD-UP tagmeme within a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH (two such instances in the Ukap story).

A further Il. Manobo particle complex is even more deeply buried within sentence structure, in that it functions as Relator-Axis tagmeme of Relator-Axis Sentences which expound Temporal Margins of other sentences. Nevertheless, this particle complex hune/hune su/hune ve su 'then when...' clearly has a discourse-level function. As Wrigglesworth explains it, this particle complex expounds "the Relator tagmeme of the Relator-Axis Sentence (time), which functions as consecutive time horizons between paragraphs, marking progress from EPISODE to EPISODE." This particle complex has already been mentioned above in relation to consecutive time horizons.

Finally, Il. Manobo has a particle complex wey/wey embe, 'and/and so' which occurs on the clause-level but whose function is also discourse-level. In short, wey/wey embe is the Relator of a Relator-Axis Clause (time) which expounds sentence-level time margins. The Time Margin, in turn, "introduces a paragraph which expounds an EPISODE whose action occurs as a response to a demand stated in the previous paragraph. The demand may be either a command (which is therefore obeyed in the wey embe paragraph) or an action which requires a responding or subsequent action (provided in the wey embe paragraph). A shift of spotlight upon persons, or upon actions is therefore also involved".

Wrigglesworth exemplifies this with data given here only in English translation:

(1) One paragraph (Ukap, sentence 18) ends with:

'Said the mother of Ukap, "Draw near to your plate, Ukap, because it is filled and the flies will gather on your food."'

The next paragraph begins with:

'And so [wey plus two other particles] rinsing your hands, you ate with your fingers.'

(2) One paragraph (Ukap, sentence 178) begins:

> 'You (the woman) felt like a toasted, popping pancake with the exploding of the guns; they attacked.'
>
> The next paragraph begins:
>
> '(Interjection) and so (hane wey embe) when they attacked twice, you (Ukap) refrained from taking revenge.'

Notice in both the above examples that there is some sort of demand plus response involved: verbal plus non-verbal in the first example; non-verbal plus non-verbal in the second. Along with this goes the shifting of the spotlight: from Ukap's mother to Ukap in the first example; from the attackers to Ukap in the second.

Wrigglesworth points out that when a wey embe Temporal Clause is drawn into the nucleus of a sentence (Eliptical Conditional and Equivalent Sentences), it still marks onset of a new paragraph--but loses its spotlight-shifting effect.

In Ata Manobo nokoy kaman 'then, next' is of very frequent use, both initially and internally in paragraphs. Shirley Abbott, however, reports also for Ata Manobo certain devices apparently restricted to the first sentence of a paragraph: (a) nalugoy 'a long time'; (b) a Temporal Sentence Topic and (c) Relator-Axis (Temporal) Sentences introduced with ko 'when'. Both the nalugoy and ko appear to be transition markers in Ata Manobo narrative.

Lawrence Reid reports for Bontoc the use of various sentence-level and clause-level particles to mark narrative movement whether between paragraphs or internal in the paragraph: adi pay 'neg. moreover'; kedeng ay 'only'; pay 'moreover'; kasi 'again'; kayet 'even yet, further'; and ges/ages 'also'. Reid comments:

> "Each of these lexical items occurs in the first sentence of the nucleus of a paragraph which is non-initial in a discourse. They may not occur in the initial sentence of the first paragraph of a discourse."

1.9.4 Lexical linkage.

Regarding lexical linkage within a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE Shirley Abbott comments as follows for Ata Manobo:

> "This linkage comes via the Dramatis Personae by (1) continuity of a specific Dramatis Personae....; (2) continuity through the conversation of the Dramatis Personae...; (3) continuity of action of the Dramatis Personae...."

In regard to (1) [in the Ata Manobo text Minuna]: a 'bachelor' is referred to in the SETTING, nucleus, and TERMINUS of paragraph one. Paragraph two links lexically to paragraph one by beginning, 'The bachelor left'. This same paragraph ends, 'There was someone who wanted to accompany him; this made two of them'. Paragraph three links to paragraph two by beginning, 'They had only five days to spend in Kootan'.

In regard to (2)--continuity through dialogue: the text of paragraph three says: 'These two, they didn't know they were passing a house where the people had left' [this is elaborated and explained in two further sentences]. Paragraph four links to paragraph three by beginning with a remark of one of the two men: 'The other said, "I'm really scared; it's as if there are no people."' This is continued in the bachelor's reply: 'The rich man said, "Ah, let's try to call." The rich man said, "Where did you people go?"'

In regard to (3), the evil spirits chase the two men through paragraphs nine, ten and eleven, thus providing lexical linkage through continuity of action. A further link binds this part of the story in that while paragraph eight ends with, 'The evil spirits wanted to hold them because they wanted to eat them', paragraph twelve tells us, 'The two of them died because they were eaten of evil spirits'. Here there is a lexical link between Cause Margins in paragraphs eight and twelve. Other wise, these Cause Margins are not in the main flow lexically of these paragraphs.

Lawrence Reid's comments regarding lexical linkage in Bontoc are not dissimilar--although he is more explicit, especially in regard to anaphora:

> "Anaphora and deletion (the latter only rarely in this discourse type) further serve to provide linkage. For example, the noun phrase 'this one Guinaang man', introduced as Sentence Topic to the sentence expounding the SETTING of the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH in EPISODE 2, is referred to by pronoun five times (three Ø) in EPISODE 2; in EPISODE 3, it is also referred to by pronoun five times. At the beginning of paragraph 5, the pronoun 'they' refers back to the rat and the man, the dramatis personae of paragraph 4, thus providing a further anaphoric link in the discourse. A similar situation occurs at the

> beginning of EPISODE 6 (pronoun 'he') and in EPISODE 10. The MORAL is joined to the whole discourse by use of an anaphoric link: di 'that'.
>
> "A further type of link may be called lexical association. This is the type of linkage which is implicit in the equivalence classes of Harris' Discourse Analysis. No systematic analysis of equivalence classes has been made of the text MF. Such an analysis would place in a single equivalence class 'the Guinaang people' of S 3 with 'the people' of S 5, providing a link between EPISODE 1 and EPISODE 2.
>
> "Lexical association at the very least provides linkage through the reoccurring dramatis personae. 'This one Guinaang person' of S 5 is lexically associated, i.e. equivalent to, or refers to the same dramatis persona as 'the man' of S 12, 14, 'that man' of S 31, 'this Guinaang Man' of S 37 and S 52, and 'the one without relatives' of S 55."

2 PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is apparently not as widely spread and original as NARRATIVE. Myra Lou Barnard writes regarding Dibabawon:

> "The projected PROCEDURE DISCOURSE is presumably an innovation since such techniques have heretofore been learned by apprenticeship in early childhood. Paragraphs in such discourses, however, are assumed to be in keeping with the structure of paragraphs in oral tradition where brief instructions are given by a parent to a child."

Nevertheless, PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES have been elicited without any difficulty not only in Dibabawon Manobo but in Ata Manobo and Ilianen Manobo, as well as in Bilaan, Tagabili, and Mansaka (all languages in Mindanao). In the languages of cultural minorities of Luzon, Harriet Minot elicited PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE in Botolan Sambal and Claudia Whittle in Atta (Negrito). In Bontoc, Lawrence Reid obtained brief PROCEDURE DISCOURSES of usually only one paragraph, as did Charles Walton for Itneg. The somewhat similar Bontoc ACTIVITY DISCOURSE (see Sec. 6) can, however, be quite long.

2.1 Chronological orientation.

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, like NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, involves chronological sequence, but sequence in projected time rather than in accomplished time. Here again, also, projection and flashback are possible.

While in Bontoc narrative the tense forms are past (with non-past understood as past in discourse medial), Reid reports consistent use of non-past in Bontoc PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE.

> "Tense in a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is always non-past, indicating projected time. Sentence Time Margins may be past or non-past, but these are interpreted as completed or incompleted (perfect or imperfect) in relation to the activity of the sentence nucleus as described above under tense orientation of the NARRATIVE DISCOURSE."

2.2 Person Orientation.

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE can be in any person. This is best illustrated in the Dibabawon Manobo discourses which have been recorded and studied by Myra Lou Barnard. The eight such discourses studied by her all deal with game procurement. While all are very similar in general discourse structure, they show a variety of person orientation.

Several of these discourses begin with the first person plural inclusive which in some discourses gives place to second person at or near the climax. Thus, JG 1:

> 'A report of when we go fishing.'
> 'First we take two pieces of equipment.'
> 'We go to the river...'
> 'We look down in the pool...'
> 'We remove our pants...'
> 'Then we surface dive...'
> 'We turn our heads this way and that searching.'
> 'We peek for them (fish)...'
> 'Then when you see into the hole you shoot it.'
> 'Then you surface immediately.'

In JG 3 (Spearing Wild Pigs) the alternation of first person inclusive to second person is less regular.

> '...we go when there is lots of rain'
> 'we carry spears and sharp bolo...'
> 'we pass by the very grassy places.'
> 'when you enter the forest you look for fresh tracks.'
> 'then when you find the tracks we follow to where their lair is.'

> 'when you find a lair that is still new
> you figure, "Aha, the pig has gone inside."'
> 'Then we poise our spears for the strike.'
> 'We must spear directly in the center
> because if you strike to one side the
> pig will not be hit.'
> 'Now when you spear it, it will writhe.'
> 'Now you figure, "Aha, the pig is hit."'
> 'If you see the head protruding, then
> slash it.'...

[second person rest of discourse until finis:]

> 'Now that's all about when we capture pigs
> in their lair.'

One Dibabawon PROCEDURE DISCOURSE begins, however, in first person plural inclusive and shifts early in the discourse to first person singular ('This is how I do it'). Still another Dibabawon PROCEDURE DISCOURSE begins with third person plural: 'The bird hunters among the Dibabawons, they....' Eventually, near the climax of the discourse, there is a shift to third person singular (focus on a typical bird hunter). Still other similar third person Dibabawon discourses which recount actual game procurement operations of particular people in accomplished time are not PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES at all but NARRATIVES. Myra Lou Barnard consequently distinguishes these 'specific narratives' from ' projected narratives'.

Person Orientation of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE in other languages is based on less extensive bodies of data. The Il. Manobo PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, "Manobo Farming" is given in third person: 'the owner of the field...those assisting him....'. B. Sambal PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is likewise third person. Sarangani Bilaan PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is either second person singular (when addressed to a specific person: 'you do this...then you do that') or third person (when not addressed to a specific person). The one PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE recorded in Atta (Negrito) is in second person.

In Bontoc, PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES are either first person plural exclusive or second person singular (which can begin with first person plural inclusive). In the former case the text is oriented 'This is how we do it' (not seriously expecting the addressee to try the procedure), while in the latter the orientation is equivalent to 'This is how you would do it--were you so inclined' (with probably, however, no more expectation of the addressee duplicating the procedure). Nevertheless, it may be that here as elsewhere we have varieties of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE--one in which the addressee is invited to join in the activity (even if the invitation is a mere formality) and those in which the addressee is not so invited.

The latter variety of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is illustrated in Tagabili where there is a larger PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE which begins with first person plural exclusive and shifts to third person plural before the end of the first full paragraph:

> 'To us, the Tagabili...when a person is about to die, we always carry the property out of the house, we say...
> ...if the property stays up in the house, we say it is cursed.
> ...we say that the property is cursed.
> ...they ought to give it to another person...
> ...But if they know about its being cursed they certainly won't keep it'.

The three Mansaka PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES prepared by Thelma Svelmoe all deal with instructions for carrying out medical treatments. Two of these DISCOURSES ('Instructions for the Itch' and 'Medicine for Intestinal Pains') are in second person which shifts to first person inclusive of second in the HORTATORY CONCLUSION. The third discourse is in first person inclusive of second person throughout.

2.3 Tagmemes that initiate PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE.

APERTURE and TITLE in PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES are much like the same tagmemes in NARRATIVE DISCOURSES--except that the latter introduces specific dramatis personae. It is commonly expounded either by a simple sentence or by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH (Dibabawon, S. Bilaan, Tagabili).

Harriet Minot posits for B. Sambal, APERTURES (which she calls INTRODUCTION) which consist of all or part of the first sentence of the first paragraph. When only a portion of the initial sentence expounds APERTURE, it is assumed to be a portmanteau exponent of both a sentence peripheral tagmeme and of discourse-level APERTURE. When all of the initial sentence of a paragraph expounds APERTURE it is portmanteau exponent of a paragraph-level tagmeme (e.g., TEXT) and also of discourse-level APERTURE. Thus, in the Botolan Sambal PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, "The Rice Farmer", while the main discourse has an APERTURE which is expounded by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH, the three embedded discourses which expound PROCEDURES 1-3 each have APERTURES which are expounded by portmanteau exponents of the sort just described. The first embedded PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is introduced by a portmanteau exponent of Sentence Topic and discourse APERTURE: pirimiro nan gaw-en 'The first thing that he does...'. The second embedded PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is introduced by a portmanteau exponent of paragraph TEXT and discourse APERTURE: 'But even though he's finished planting he still has work to do'. The third embedded PROCEDURAL

DISCOURSE is introduced by a portmanteau exponent of sentence-level Conditional Margin and discourse APERTURE: 'If the rice is mature and can be harvested by the stalk...'.

Bontoc PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES are typically one paragraph and possibly do not contain an APERTURE tagmeme. They regularly, however, contain a title which is often a noun phrase which contains a nominalized clause: "The Making of Sugarcane Wine"; "The Making of Rice Wine"; "The Making of Yeast"; and "The Making and Weaving of a Fish Trap".....The discourse with the last title contains a Conditional Margin which may possibly be a portmanteau exponent of APERTURE tagmeme: 'If a fish trap is needed...'.

In Ilianen Manobo, Hazel Wrigglesworth posits what she calls 'discourse topic phrase' as exponent of APERTURE. Presumably this exponent is simply a noun phrase--in spite of the slot-type name for the filler. The title is Non-Verbal Clause:

Title: ke kebpengengawid te menuvu' - 'Manobo Farming'

Aperture: iyan uleula te menuvu' te kebpengengawid

'This is the custom of Manobos in farming'

The Mansaka PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES have a DISCOURSE TOPIC given in the first sentence: 'This teaching is instruction for the itch'; 'If there is a person who has worms, this is the instruction and teaching that we will follow'; 'The way you cause a person to drink the medicine for pains in his intestines is like this' (portmanteau with paragraph SETTING).

TITLE in Dibabawon PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES is considered to be an innovation (see III 2.1.2 of this volume). It is a noun phrase or gerund phrase rather than a complete sentence such as characterizes APERTURE.

Considering the TITLE in Itneg PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE Charles Walton writes: "The structure of TITLE tagmeme is the same as the structure of Sentence Topic tagmeme [See Vol. II] and it occurs prenuclear. It is different in that it relates to the whole paragraph or discourse rather than being the Sentence Topic of one sentence. The TITLE tagmeme can occur contiguous to a Sentence Topic tagmeme. There is no instance of any sentence having two Sentence Topic tagmemes; therefore, TITLE should be regarded as distinct from Sentence Topic."

2.4 Tagmemes that close PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE.

CLOSURE and FINIS are much as in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. Again, however, there is no reference to a specific dramatis persona such as is possible in CLOSURE and FINIS of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE.

Again, the five Dibabawon PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES (properly defined) illustrate well some of the formal variety possible in terminating this genre of discourse. Thus JG 1, "A Report of When We Go Fishing" has no FINIS tagmeme. In JG 2, "A Report of When We Go Frog-hunting", FINIS is expounded by: 'Now that is all the procedure when we get that kind of viand'. Similarly, in JG 3, "Story of Capturing Pigs in their Lair", FINIS is expounded by 'Now that's all about when we capture pigs in their lair'. JG 4, "A Report of When We Get Birds" has no FINIS tagmeme, nor does SEb 1, "Bird Hunters". One Dibabawon text, JG 2, adds a postscript tagmeme after FINIS: 'This story was made by Inasaw about when we went frog-hunting before'.

In several cases in the Dibabawon PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES there is a POST-CLIMAX PROCEDURE$_2$ in which the final phase of the activity is reported, e.g. surfacing after shooting a fish, gutting frogs and returning home, or just going home. In every case this POST-CLIMAX PROCEDURE$_2$ correlates with the lexical step that Barnard calls CONCLUSION. In one case, there occurs a POST-CLIMAX PROCEDURE$_3$ which correlates with the lexical step of UTILIZATION.

In the Il. Manobo PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE presented by Hazel Wrigglesworth, both CLOSURE and FINIS occur. The former is similar to the Dibabawon POST-CLIMAX CONCLUSION EPISODE: 'When everyone has finished planting, the datu' will get busy and call everyone to gather together in the mosque for a ceremony'. FINIS is typical: 'That's all'.

In the Botolan Sambal text prepared by Harriet Minot, FINIS (termed by her 'CLOSURE') is similar to those illustrated for Dibabawon in that the subject matter of the discourses is recapitulated: 'That is the story of the rice farmer'.

Of the four Bontoc PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES (all very brief), only one, "The Making of Fish Traps", has a FINIS tagmeme (called by Reid 'CLOSURE'). It is somewhat fuller and less formulaic than either in Dibabawon or B. Sambal: 'That's what is done to make fishtraps until you have twenty of them (but it will take many days to make them, you understand) then there will be enough for you to go and trap mudfish.'

Two of the three Mansaka PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES end with CLOSURES expounded by HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. Thus in one text: 'The medicine for worms is thus whenever we take it. It is necessary that we follow this teaching, because this is very good if we obey the instructions. These pills can kill the worms in our intestines.' In another text: 'Don't forget this teaching. It is necessary that we follow this because this way of doing will heal.'

2.5 Nuclear tagmemes of the PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE.

The nuclear tagmemes of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE are called PROCEDURES (numbered from 1 to n) in Tagabili, S. Bilaan, Il. Manabo, and B. Sambal. The paragraphs which expound these PROCEDURE tagmemes are EXPLANATORY AND PROCEDURAL (except in Il. Manobo, where Hazel Wrigglesworth does not posit PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS). These same tagmemes may also be expounded by PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE (Il. Manobo, and Tagabili) or by an EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE (Tagabili).

In Bontoc, where PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is co-extensive with the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH--except for discourse APERTURE and CLOSURE--Lawrence Reid calls the nuclear tagmeme of the discourse the PROCEDURE.

ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURE tagmeme is posited by Doris Porter for Tagabili. In the long discourse "The Tagabili Burial Customs" the bulk of the discourse has to do with PROCEDURES for coffin burial; this part of the discourse is a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE which expounds PROCEDURE 1. But this is followed by three ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES which involve: (1) leaving the person to die in a shelter without coffin burial; (2) burial without a coffin in a hole; and (3) burial under the house or abandonment of the house with the corpse left in it. The ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURES are plainly marked with initial sentences containing Conditional Sentences. Thus, taking the MAIN PROCEDURE of the text (coffin burial) as A: the first ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURE begins, 'But if what they do, they don't do A, if they do B (=put the person in a shelter)...'. The second ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURE begins: 'If what they do, they don't do B and they don't do A, they do C (=don't let die in the house but carry out of the house before death and bury in a hole when dead)'. The third ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURE is expounded by a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH which itself presents ALTERNATIVES D and E: 'If D (=they just bury under the house)'...If E (=they just leave the body in the house).'

Myra Lou Barnard's labelling of nuclear tagmemes in Dibabawon PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE of the game procurement variety is somewhat different from the labelling suggested here. This difference in labelling follows from her considering Dibabawon PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE to be a subvariety of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. She, therefore, labels the nuclear tagmemes of the Dibabawon PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, (as she terms it) EPISODES and CLIMAX. In the lexical hierarchy she sets up STEP tagmemes in the lexical discourse level. These STEP tagmemes are expounded by lexical paragraphs and embedded lexical discourses. Each STEP has, however, also a more specific name: e.g. STEP 1 is PREPARATION; STEP 2 is CONTACT; and STEP 3 is OPERATION. Since two sets of names are really not needed, the latter could be employed in the lexicon and some such term as PROCEDURE or STEP substituted for EPISODE in the grammar.

Nevertheless, in view of Barnard's considering the PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE to be a subtype of the NARRATIVE DISCOURSE I have retained her terminology unchanged in my joint article with her as embodied in Sec. III of this volume.

2.6 Interparagraph linkage.

Linkage between the parts of a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE is similar in broad outline to that found between the parts of a NARRATIVE DISCOURSE.

2.6.1 Tail-head and summary linkage.

As in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, S_n of paragraph$_i$ may link to S_1 of paragraph$_j$ (tail-head linkage), or the link found within S_1 of paragraph$_j$ may be summary in respect to paragraph$_i$. Myra Lou Barnard notes, however, that the specific devices employed differ between PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE (her projected NARRATIVE) and NARRATIVE DISCOURSE (her specific NARRATIVE):

> "The chief formal difference noted between projected and specific NARRATIVE has been in the usual forms of the exponents of sentence type margins in the linkage systems of the two types. The specific NARRATIVE usually employs a characteristic construction consisting of a gerund phrase marked by pag- or pagka-. Projected NARRATIVE also employs the pagka- gerund form, indicating a stative stem or non-intentive mood, but it usually employs a relator-axis construction whose relator is expounded by ko 'if/when' and whose axis is expounded by a clause. In some specific NARRATIVES no 'when', a specific relator, occurs in contrast to ko of projected NARRATIVE."

This linkage between paragraphs is essentially that found also within the paragraph and is discussed and illustrated more fully in the section on paragraph structure.

The Il. Manobo discourse presented by Hazel Wrigglesworth gives clear instances of interparagraph links involving both tail-head and summary linkage. Thus, the second half of the discourse describes the role of the Shaman in the planting activities. One paragraph describes the killing and cooking of chickens for the ceremony. This paragraph ends: 'When it is cooked everyone goes to the seedbox because they will attend the praying of the Shaman to Kilayag, Ivevasuk, and Pemula'. The next paragraph begins: '(When) they arrive there at the seedbox...' The link in the initial sentence of the second paragraph is provided by a Dependent Clause with a dependent verb form ('arrive') rather than by a gerund construction or a Relator-Axis Clause.

This same device is used in the discourse, however, to link a whole paragraph to the first sentence of the following paragraph. Thus, in the first part of the discourse (which deals with actual planting activities, not the correlated activities of the shaman), the first main paragraph describes the making of the clearing. The second paragraph begins with, '(When) the clearing is finished...' and proceeds to describe burning off the brush. The third paragraph begins with, 'Then when [*hune ve su*, see 1.8.3], all the men have finished the burning...' and proceeds to describe the first plowing. The next paragraph begins with '(When) the first plowing is finished...' and describes the second plowing and the harrowing. Finally, the last paragraph of the embedded discourse begins with '(When) the harrowing is finished...' and describes the designation of a day for planting. Thus, the whole embedded discourse is bound together by summarizing each whole paragraph in part of the first sentence of the following paragraph.

In S. Bilaan, similar linkage is found in another text which deals with farming. Paragraph one deals with clearing, burning, and piling the residue that doesn't burn. The first sentence of paragraph two, which describes planting, refers back to only the last mentioned activity given not simply in the last sentence of the first paragraph but in a short two-sentence embedded paragraph. Thus, paragraph two begins, 'When you have finished piling it together...'. Paragraph three deals with weeding and begins with the words, 'When you have finished planting...'. This is, in effect, a summary of the whole preceding paragraph, but is nevertheless an explicit recapitulation to the words 'finish planting' that occur only in the last sentence of paragraph two.

2.6.2 Head-head linkage and consecutive time horizons.

In *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE* there is frequent linking of S_1 of paragraph_i to S_1 of paragraph_j. Sometimes these are clearly consecutive time horizons although in projected rather than in accomplished time. Thus, in the Tagabili text on funeral customs, paragraph twelve brings us up to the fourteenth day or fifteenth night after the death; sentence one of that paragraph reads, 'If it is fifteen nights, the body stays in the house for fourteen nights and one night to bury it'. Subsequent sentences of the paragraph take us through events of the last twenty-four hour period. Paragraph thirteen begins, 'When it's almost afternoon of the burial day...'. Paragraph fourteen has a SETTING tagmeme in paragraph initial place (S_1: 'There are people who stay at the house called "Waiters for the buriers".') In the next sentence, the first of the paragraph nucleus, the consecutive time horizon is stated: 'Just after dark...'.

One Mansaka PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE ('Instructions for the Itch') illustrates well the use of consecutive time horizons in such discourses. Each paragraph begins as follows:

'At first.....'
'When tomorrow comes.....'
'When the day after tomorrow (='next day') comes'
'When you are healed already.....'

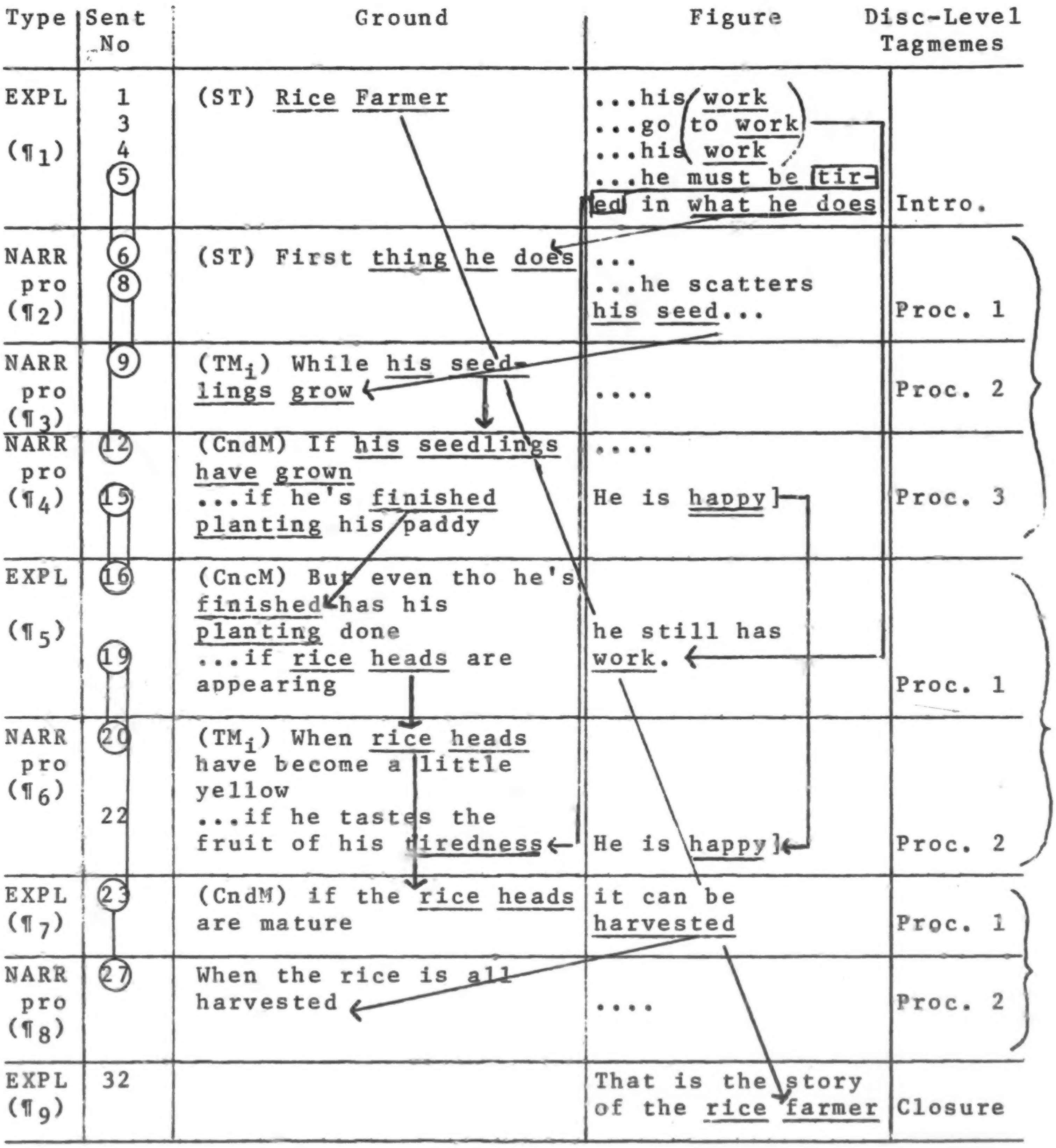
In some cases the links between first sentences of consecutive paragraphs are similar to consecutive time horizons but involve Conditional and Concessive Sentence Margins instead of Time Margins. In a Botolan Sambal discourse (likewise treating of rice farming) consecutive paragraph links both of the S_1--S_1 (head-head) and of the S_n--S_1 (tail-head) variety occur. The reference in S_1 to a part of S_n may be to the nucleus or periphery of that sentence. Note the accompanying diagram (adapted from Minot) where S_1 of paragraph two recapitulates the verb do of S_n in the previous paragraph. S_1 of paragraph three contains, 'while his seedlings grow', (a Time Margin) which refers to the nucleus of previous S_n: 'he scatters his seed'. S_1 of paragraph four contains, 'If his seedlings have grown', (a Conditional Margin) that refers back to S_1 of paragraph three. S_1 of paragraph five contains, 'even though he's finished planting', (a Concessive Margin) that refers to the Conditional Margin of previous S_n: 'if he's finished planting..'. S_1 of paragraph six contains, 'when rice heads have become a little yellow', which again refers to the Conditional Margin of the preceding S_n: 'if rice heads are appearing. S_1 of paragraph seven contains, however, a Conditional Margin, 'if the rice heads are mature', which refers back to S_1 of the preceding paragraph. Finally, S_1 of paragraph eight is simply a Temporal Margin, 'when the rice is all harvested', which refers to the entire preceding paragraph on harvesting. Note how the reference in a S_1 to something in the preceding paragraph carries the temporal sequence forward:

S_n: 'he scatters his seed.'
S_1: 'While the seed is growing...'

S_1: 'If/when his seedlings have grown.'
S_n: 'If/when he's finished planting...'
S_1: 'Even though he's finished planting he still has work.'

S_n: 'If/when rice heads are appearing'
S_1: 'When rice heads have become a little yellow'
S_1: 'If/when the rice heads are mature'

S_1: 'When the rice is all harvested'



Type	Sent No	Ground	Figure	Disc-Level Tagmemes
EXPL (¶$_1$)	1 3 4 ⑤	(ST) Rice Farmer	...his work ...go to work ...his work ...he must be tired in what he does	Intro.
NARR pro (¶$_2$)	⑥ ⑧	(ST) First thing he does	... ...he scatters his seed...	Proc. 1
NARR pro (¶$_3$)	⑨	(TM$_i$) While his seedlings grow	....	Proc. 2
NARR pro (¶$_4$)	⑫ ⑮	(CndM) If his seedlings have grown ...if he's finished planting his paddy	.... He is happy	Proc. 3
EXPL (¶$_5$)	⑯ ⑲	(CncM) But even tho he's finished has his planting done ...if rice heads are appearing	he still has work.	Proc. 1
NARR pro (¶$_6$)	⑳ 22	(TM$_i$) When rice heads have become a little yellow ...if he tastes the fruit of his tiredness	He is happy	Proc. 2
EXPL (¶$_7$)	㉓	(CndM) if the rice heads are mature	it can be harvested	Proc. 1
NARR pro (¶$_8$)	㉗	When the rice is all harvested	....	Proc. 2
EXPL (¶$_9$)	32		That is the story of the rice farmer	Closure

DIAGRAM 2 (adapted from Minot)

Inter-paragraph Linkage in a Botolan Sambal

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE

3 EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE.

EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is less widespread than either NARRATIVE or PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE. It is represented in the corpus underlying this study in discourses from Ata Manobo, Sarangani Bilaan, Tagabili, and B. Sambal.

The purpose of EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is not to tell a story (as in NARRATIVE) or prescribe the steps of an activity or activity complex (PROCEDURAL), but to simply explain something. It is distinguished from the HORTATORY genre in that the purpose of the latter is to influence conduct.

3.1 Time in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE.

While the previous discourse genre are ordered according to chronological sequence (whether in accomplished or projected time), EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is not oriented according to chronological sequence. Whatever references to time horizons occur do not markedly influence the structure of the discourse.

Thus the Ata Manobo EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE starts out saying in the opening paragraphs: 'We were told that an airplane would come here today...The airplane landed at our place. We had made the airstrip. Living here a long time this is the first time we had seen an airplane.' Various time horizons are mentioned here: (1) anticipation of the airplane's coming; (2) it came; (3) prior to that we built the airstrip; (4) for an undetermined period of time prior to (2) and (3) 'we've lived here'. The focus is not on any of these time horizons as such but on the significance of the coming of the airplane. Subsequent paragraphs affirm it isn't taboo for an Ata to ride in an airplane, explain that linguistic investigators live with them and had them make the airstrip, and comment on the fact that some larger towns are jealous that so small a settlement should have an airstrip.

The S. Bilaan EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE deals with the courtship and marriage customs of Bilaans before they began to acculturate to outside influences. Most references are to past time, 'a long time ago'. There are, however, occasional references to the present as the customs of today are contrasted with those of yesterday.

The Tagabili EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE deals with customs of the Tagabili. There are embedded PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS and DISCOURSES which are, of course, characterized by sequence in projected time. The discourse as a whole, however, has no such orientation. The time horizon of most of the discourse is the present. POINT 4, however, refers to customs practiced before World War II (intertribal warfare, headhunting, slavery). POINT 5 deals again with the present as do all the other main points of the discourse.

The Botolan Sambal EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is a Christian sermonette on the eschatological theme, "The Return of Jesus". In keeping with such a theme the time horizon is commonly future, but there are references to Jesus' earthly life (past) and to God's (present) forbearance with evildoers. The discourse is, consistently EXPLANATORY and does not at any point become exhortation--unless in the INTRODUCTION where the speaker says: "Let us turn to I Thessalonians, chapter 4, verses 13-18." This is, however, a conventional way of calling attention to a passage of Scripture rather than a serious attempt to influence conduct.

3.2 Persons in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE.

While some sort of person orientation characterizes both types of discourse genre previously described, no such orientation is required of EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES. They are subject-matter oriented. The subject is commonly third person--as in the Botolan Sambal and the Tagabili EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES. The S. Bilaan discourse on Bilaan customs uses third person in most places but employs in its place first person plural exclusive (= 'we Bilaans') a few times and employs 'you' as a general person (=the you/one does so and so) a few times. The Ata Manobo discourse about the airplane landing on the airstrip is partly in first person ('we were told the plane would come...our place...we saw the airplane... our language') and third person ('they [linguistic investigators] came...they made an airstrip...they study many languages on Mindanao'; also: 'people in larger places are jealous'). The persons come in incidental to the subject matter. The discourse is not oriented to the persons as such.

A few first person singular and second person forms also occur in the Tagabili EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE (which is otherwise third person). These first and second person forms reflect the explanatory situation which may be paraphrased: 'I am telling you about the Tagabili'.

3.3 The INTRODUCTION tagmeme.

The purpose of the INTRODUCTION tagmeme is to introduce the main subject of the EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE. Thus the Ata Manobo discourse begins, 'We were told that an airplane would come here today to our place'. The Tagabili discourse begins with an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH which tells where the Tagabili live and approximately how many of them there are. The S. Bilaan discourse begins with: 'It is said that our customs a long time ago were very different...'. The B. Sambal discourse begins with an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH: 'Let's read I Thessalonians 4:13-18. Here we learn that Jesus will return here to the earth.' The subject matters of these four discourses are respectively as indicated: (1) 'The airplane comes to our place'; (2) 'The Tagabili and their customs'; (3) 'Bilaan customs long ago'; (4) 'Jesus will return'. INTRODUCTION tagmeme of EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is expounded by a single sentence or by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH.

3.4 The CONCLUSION tagmeme.

CONCLUSION tagmeme likewise is expounded by a sentence or an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. The Ata Manobo and B. Sambal discourses do not have this tagmeme. Nevertheless, both Shirley Abbott and Harriet Minot posit (presumably on the basis of text material not yet submitted for publication) that not only a CONCLUSION but a FINIS tagmeme (='that's all') may occur in this discourse genre.

The CONCLUSIONS of the Tagabili and S. Bilaan EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES mention again the main topic of the discourse as previously enunciated in the INTRODUCTION. Thus, the Tagabili discourse concludes with an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH which begins: 'There are 25,000-30,000 Tagabili [they were described as 30,000 in the INTRODUCTION]'. The paragraph concludes with, 'If I were to tell you everything about the Tagabili there would be no end!' In between, further sentences of the paragraph state the educational needs of the Tagabili and put in a plea for school teachers [the only HORTATORY material in the discourse]. The S. Bilaan discourse ends more simply: 'That was the custom of the Bilaan a long time ago'.

There is a Marano discourse, "Red Star over Islam" which, if EXPOSITORY (it might be construed as a HORTATORY DISCOURSE), has both a HORTATORY INTRODUCTION and CONCLUSION. [cf. the HORTATORY material in the conclusion of the Tagabili discourse above]. This discourse seems also to distinguish an APERTURE tagmeme from an INTRODUCTION [cf. the distinction of CONCLUSION versus FINIS, illustrated in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE and said to exist also in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE in both Ata Manobo and B. Sambal]. The APERTURE is a verse from the Koran: "The godly shall never be defeated by the ungodly". The INTRODUCTION is a long HORTATORY PARAGRAPH which exhorts the followers of Islam to pray for their suffering brothers inside the territory ruled by Russia and briefly summarizes their sufferings, as motivation to pray. The CONCLUSION of the discourse is an exhortation 'not to be fooled by the communists' but to be prepared to endure persecution and to help those Moslems who are persecuted. This plea is bolstered with the assertion that 'communism cannot last', with the words "the god-fearing people will not lose to the godless" (and a further paraphrase of this) and concludes with another Koranic quotation which threatens the persecutors with hellfire. Thus, the discourse ends on a note very similar to that with which it begins.

Such circling back in the CONCLUSION to the main subject announced in the INTRODUCTION may be a further characteristic of EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE (perhaps sharing this characteristic with HORTATORY). For this reason we distinguish the INTRODUCTION and CONCLUSION of this discourse genre and the following from APERTURE and CLOSURE and/or FINIS of the two previous genre.

3.5 Nuclear tagmemes.

The nuclear tagmemes of the EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE are POINT$_1$....POINT$_n$, expounded by EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. Doris Porter also states that a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH may expound a POINT but no such exponent of POINT occurs in the EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE that she submits. Betty McLachlin and Barbara Blackburn state that a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH may expound a POINT in an EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE but likewise do not include a discourse with a POINT so expounded. A rhetorical question and answer would, however, constitute a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH which might very well expound a POINT of an EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE (and reflect the 'I'm explaining to you' situation as well).

POINT tagmemes are also expounded by embedded EXPLANATORY and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES. Thus the long EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE on the Tagabili and their customs has POINT 1, 3, 7, 9 and a POSTPOINT all expounded by embedded EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES. All these embedded discourses have clearly marked INTRODUCTION tagmemes; the EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE which expounds POINT 1 has also its own CONCLUSION. This embedded discourse has the structure:

INTRO: Sentence: 'There is a month when they begin to make their fields.'

POINT I: EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH concerning knowing when to make a field by observing how certain stars twinkle.

POINT II: PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE of two paragraphs on knowing when to make a field by observing how deeply frogs nest to lay their eggs.

POINT III: EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH concerning knowing when to make a field by observing the foliage of certain trees.

CONCLUSION: EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH of two sentences: 'If these signs are mixed they hurry and do the work so they can hurry and plant. There are many other signs...but I tell you these.'

While there are six embedded EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES of this Tagabili EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE, there are but two embedded

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES, both of which are brief and are on the deepest layer of embedding.

The Tagabili EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE also contains a POST-CLOSURE POINT (called by Porter a POSTPOINT) concerning the afterlife.

The points of an EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE and those of a HORTATORY DISCOURSE need to be distinguished from each other by a subscript: e.g. POINT_{ex} can symbolize the former or POINT_{n} the latter.

3.6 Interparagraph linkage.

According to Harriet Minot, linkage between the component tagmemes of an EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE is "primarily through sentence topics and repetition of key words in the figures [of the component sentences from paragraph to paragraph, REL]".

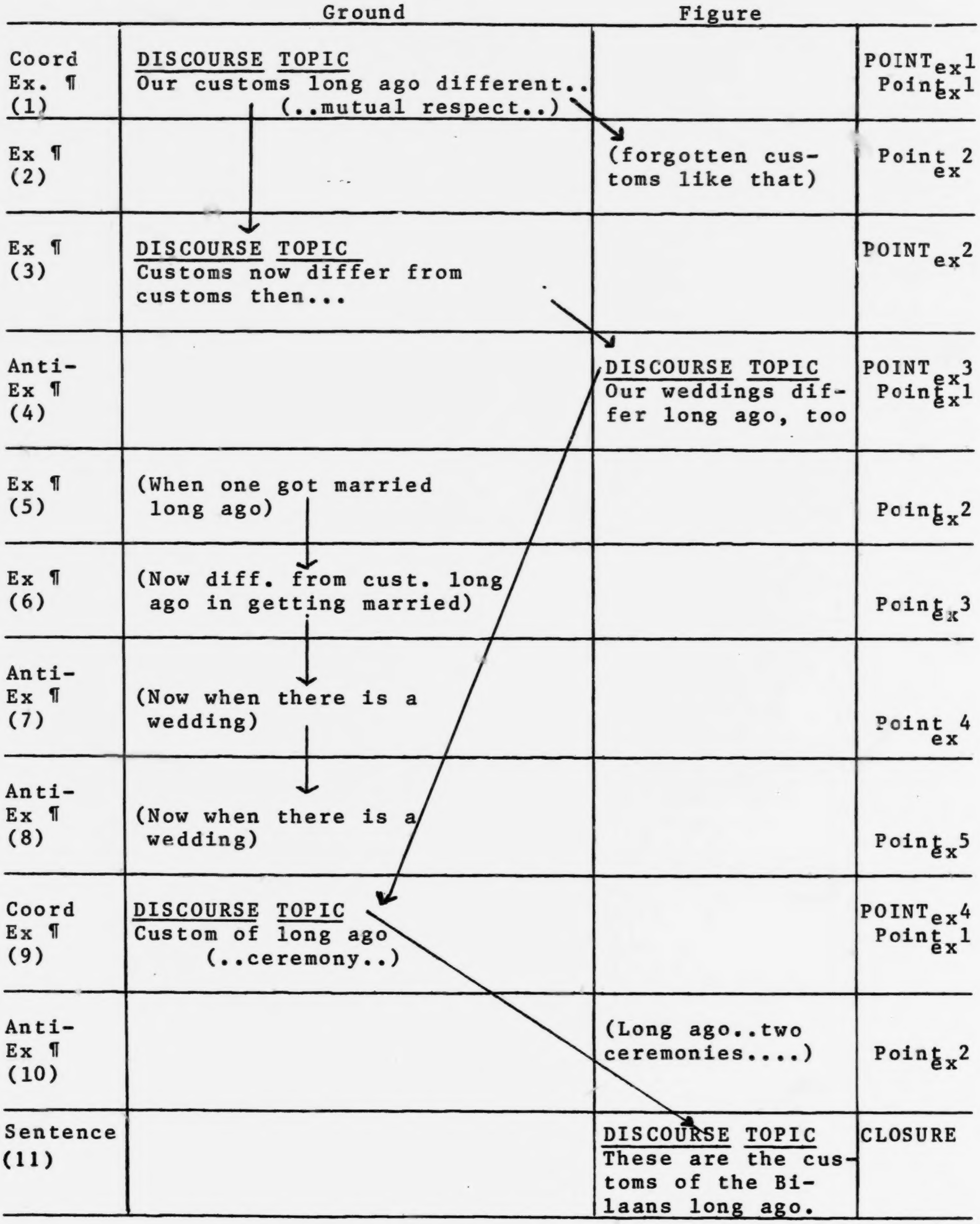
Betty McLachlin and Barbara Blackburn are even more specific:

> "The linkage of one paragraph to another to form a coherent discourse is through the DISCOURSE TOPIC. The DISCOURSE TOPIC is introduced at the beginning of the discourse, recurs in each of the POINTS of the discourse, and finally sums up the discourse in the CLOSURE. Linkage within an embedded discourse is not based on the main DISCOURSE TOPIC but links to the topic of the embedded discourse."

McLachlin and Blackburn illustrate the role of the DISCOURSE TOPIC and related material in the accompanying diagram--which we reproduce here as they compiled it. Figure and Ground are defined by them so that Figure includes "everything in the sentence nuclei of the paragraph" and Ground includes material of the sentence peripheries and the paragraph margins (PRELIMINARY and TERMINAL). This is much like the "In-Flow" versus "Out-of-Flow" distinction set up by Porter (except that an exploited sentence margin is "In-Flow", not "Out-of-Flow").

Shirley Abbott posits, in effect, that linkage between paragraphs of an EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE in Ata Manobo is largely through "in-flow" material. Thus, for the one brief six-paragraph EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE "The Landing", there are five-interparagraph links, all of which involve a link to a TEXT (or EXPOSITION) tagmeme of one or the other of two successive paragraphs: e.g. TEXT-TEXT, REASON-TEXT, TERMINAL-TEXT, etc. "While linkage in an EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE is not necessarily restricted to those involving a TEXT tagmeme, this short text is indicative of the statistical preference for links of this sort."

EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE LINKAGE CHART



	Ground	Figure	
Coord Ex. ¶ (1)	DISCOURSE TOPIC Our customs long ago different.. (..mutual respect..)		POINT$_{ex}$1 Point$_{ex}$1
Ex ¶ (2)		(forgotten customs like that)	Point$_{ex}$2
Ex ¶ (3)	DISCOURSE TOPIC Customs now differ from customs then...		POINT$_{ex}$2
Anti-Ex ¶ (4)		DISCOURSE TOPIC Our weddings differ long ago, too	POINT$_{ex}$3 Point$_{ex}$1
Ex ¶ (5)	(When one got married long ago)		Point$_{ex}$2
Ex ¶ (6)	(Now diff. from cust. long ago in getting married)		Point$_{ex}$3
Anti-Ex ¶ (7)	(Now when there is a wedding)		Point$_{ex}$4
Anti-Ex ¶ (8)	(Now when there is a wedding)		Point$_{ex}$5
Coord Ex ¶ (9)	DISCOURSE TOPIC Custom of long ago (..ceremony..)		POINT$_{ex}$4 Point$_{ex}$1
Anti-Ex ¶ (10)		(Long ago..two ceremonies....)	Point$_{ex}$2
Sentence (11)		DISCOURSE TOPIC These are the customs of the Bilaans long ago.	CLOSURE

DIAGRAM 3

For Tagabili, Doris Porter combines these insights. Linkage through a DISCOURSE TOPIC she assigns to the grammar:

> "Paragraphs in an EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE are linked by means of a subject set forth in the INTRODUCTION tagmeme and exposition of that subject in the following PT tagmemes."

The other sort of linkage (such as is posited for Ata Manobo by Shirley Abbott) she assigns to the lexicon:

> "The lexical tie between EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS [in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE] is from in-flow material to in-flow material, quite often the tie being from TEXT tagmeme to TEXT tagmeme."

4 HORTATORY DISCOURSE.

HORTATORY DISCOURSE is presumably universal in the languages represented in our corpus--although examples of such discourses were not obtained in every language represented. Presumably, however, the use of discourse to attempt to influence the conduct of other people is universal.

Shirley Abbott reports concerning the social constraints on speaker-hearer in the use of HORTATORY DISCOURSE in Ata Manobo:

> "The HORTATORY DISCOURSE is a text that may be given by chiefs, some older men, and some older women. The chiefs and older men may exhort anyone; the older women may exhort only other women and the children."

HORTATORY DISCOURSE is distinguished mainly by its second person orientation.

4.1 Time in HORTATORY DISCOURSE.

While not oriented according to chronological sequence (and thus unlike both NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE), HORTATORY DISCOURSE is nevertheless oriented toward present or projected time rather than past or accomplished time (and thus somewhat like PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE). Barbara Blackburn and Betty McLachlin comment briefly regarding S. Bilaan:

> "Action is either present/concurrent time or future/projected time."

Lawrence Reid comments regarding Bontoc:

> "HORTATORY DISCOURSE is oriented to non-past activity. In discourse JVW the verbs in the nucleus of each sentence are all

> non-past, although two or three past tense verbs occur in the margins."

4.2 Person orientation.

Person orientation requires a second person component. In this respect HORTATORY DISCOURSE resembles that variety of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE which is addressed to second person. Blackburn and McLachlin comment regarding S. Bilaan:

> "The second person and first person dual ('you-and-I', REL) pronouns occur in HORTATORY DISCOURSE. As in PROCEDURE DISCOURSE, the text is addressed to a specific person and frequently refers to the person by name throughout the text."

Lawrence Reid comments in some detail regarding Bontoc:

> "Perhaps the primary characteristic of HORTATORY DISCOURSE is its orientation toward second person. In the accompanying HORTATORY DISCOURSE, "On Joining a Village Ward" (JVW), approximately 75% of the clauses specify second person singular as one of the situational roles. There are thirty subjective focus clauses having second person actor and fifteen clauses in which second person is topic, but not actor. However, none of these 45 clauses is a Bontoc imperative. Each is an indicative clause. Where an exhortation to better character occurs, (in contrast to an exhortation to perform an activity), the second person singular pronoun -ka is infrequent. The preferred form is either second person dual -ta 'we two' for Topic Subject; or deletion of the pronoun, for non-Topic Subject. The use of the dual pronoun, and deletion of pronoun are both considered to be second person orientation."

Lawrence Reid adds a later comment:

> "Deletion is not a common feature of HORTATORY DISCOURSE linkage. Its specialized use as polite second person singular reference is referred to above."

These comments of Reid's underscore the fact that while second person orientation is presumably a feature of HORTATORY DISCOURSE in any language, nevertheless the precise nature of this orientation is specific to a given language and imposes certain stateable constraints on the use of pronouns in HORTATORY DISCOURSE in a given language.

A HORTATORY DISCOURSE may have a cleft second-person orientation as in the first embedded discourse of Il. Manobo discourse, "Advice to Newlyweds". The INTRODUCTION to the discourse is clearly addressed to both the man and the woman, who are referred to in the first sentence as 'our children'. The second sentence is more explicit: 'To you our child a man and to you our child a woman: be good'. POINT 1 is clearly addressed to the woman: 'Regarding your marriage, I have many requests to you the woman...'. POINT 2 is quite as clearly addressed to the man: 'As for you the man, be a good provider...'. POINT 3 is again addressed to the woman: 'You also our child the woman, it is bad...that you be suspicious of your husband'. POINT 4 is addressed to the man: 'You also the man don't be jealous of your wife'. The final point of the embedded discourse is addressed again to the woman: 'It is like that also for you the woman. If your husband misbehaves...'.

4.3 The INTRODUCTION tagmeme in HORTATORY DISCOURSE.

Some sort of INTRODUCTION tagmeme is assumed by all who have recorded HORTATORY DISCOURSE. Whether such a tagmeme is obligatory or optional to HORTATORY DISCOURSE is at present unsettled. Usually this tagmeme is considered to be expounded by a sentence or an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. Harriet Minot makes the INTRODUCTION obligatory and allows it to be expounded by not only the above exponents but also by a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH and--what is still more significant--by a Relator-Axis Sentence in portmanteau function as exponent both of discourse-level INTRODUCTION and also of the Conditional Margin of the first sentence. Perhaps by dividing first sentences of HORTATORY DISCOURSE in this fashion, HORTATORY DISCOURSES would all have obligatory INTRODUCTION tagmemes in the languages studied. For example, in the Bontoc discourse "On Joining a Village Ward", Reid assumes that the discourse begins with POINT 1 without any INTRODUCTION. Nevertheless, the first sentence of the paragraph which expounds POINT 1 begins with, 'If you want to join the men's group at Datal...'. Not only does this agree with Minot's suggested portmanteau exponent of INTRODUCTION, but it makes good sense in the Bontoc discourse itself. CONCLUSIONS often echo the phraseology of INTRODUCTION and this discourse concludes with: 'That is what is done to join the men's group house'.

One thing is certain: some sort of discourse theme is required whether it is expressed uniformly in an INTRODUCTION tagmeme or in the first POINT. Thus, for S. Bilaan, Blackburn and McLachlin state:

> "As in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE, linkage of one paragraph to another is through the discourse topic. The discourse topic is introduced in the beginning of the discourse, recurs at

> least once in each of the POINTS of the discourse, and finally sums up the discourse in the CLOSURE. The discourse topic occurs in the Figure. Linkage within an embedded discourse is not based on the main discourse topic but may have its own discourse topic which is repeated throughout the embedded discourse."

Reid is evidently describing something very similar for Bontoc:

> "Expansion is a linkage system in which a theme is presented either in the APERTURE [equals INTRODUCTION, REL] or in the first POINT, and is developed in subsequent POINTS, until its recapitulation in the CLOSURE tagmeme."

An INTRODUCTION may, however, be simply (a) a long vocative phrase; (b) a preliminary remark relating to the hearer's situation; or (c) words to the effect, 'I'm giving you advice now' -- often without mentioning the discourse topic.

Hazel Wrigglesworth reports a "discourse vocative phrase" as exponent of INTRODUCTION in Il. Manobo. Thus, she has a discourse about Christmas celebration which begins with, 'My cousins, grandparents, elders who have attended our gathering here called Christmas'.

Harriet Minot reports for Botolan Sambal a discourse addressed to a young person who has just found his first job. It begins: 'I hear that you've found work now'.

More non-committal about discourse topic is the third type which reflects the viewpoint of the one dispensing advice. Thus, in Il. Manobo the first HORTATORY DISCOURSE begins, 'This now is a different speech of mine to all of us'. Similarly, in the first S. Bilaan HORTATORY DISCOURSE we find the INTRODUCTION expounded by: 'And now I turn to you Ginong in giving you advice because I don't hesitate to advise you now because I now have the same feelings for you as for Nine (the bride)'. This speaker viewpoint can, however, be coupled with mention of the discourse topic--especially if the INTRODUCTION is a paragraph, not simply a sentence. Thus, the Ata Manobo HORTATORY DISCOURSE begins with a paragraph whose first sentence is, 'Today, the day of the engagement talks, this is my topic (viz. engagement talks)'. Two further sentences in this paragraph launch right into the topic itself.

The Tagabili HORTATORY DISCOURSE is a good example of an INTRODUCTION tagmeme which is expounded by an embedded EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE. The feature of cross-reference between INTRODUCTION and CONCLUSION (see next section) occurs in this discourse also.

4.4 CONCLUSION tagmeme in HORTATORY DISCOURSE.

CONCLUSION may be relatively unrelated to the INTRODUCTION but more often the two are in some way related.

Thus, in the Botolan Sambal discourse which begins, 'I hear that you've found work now', the CONCLUSION is expounded by a two-sentence paragraph: 'That's all I have to tell you. Don't forget my advice to you'. This CONCLUSION here is typical of HORTATORY DISCOURSE, but there is no matching INTRODUCTION on the order of 'Now that you've found work, I have some advice for you'. Words to this effect are, however, found in the next paragraph which expounds the INTRODUCTION to an embedded discourse expounding POINT 1: 'Thank the Lord for your work. Therefore, before you begin work come close to God so that He will give you strength for your job and so that He will teach you what you ought to do'. There may be here a discourse-level deletion phenomenon whereby an 'I advise you' in the INTRODUCTION to a main discourse can be deleted before similar material in an immediately following INTRODUCTION to an embedded discourse.

A similar case is found in Il. Manobo HORTATORY DISCOURSE to newlyweds. Here again there is a rather full CONCLUSION consisting, in fact, of a COORDINATE HORTATORY PARAGRAPH: 'That's all; remember well. This is what I'm advising you... Indeed remember well because now that you're married you'll no longer be taught. Submit now because you won't be scolded unless you misbehave...The way in which you will be scolded is you'll be separated from your wife and none of your wealth which you have paid will be yours...'. With a CONCLUSION of this sort one might well expect an INTRODUCTION reflecting not only the 'I advise you' motif but also a reference to the fact that he is speaking to newlyweds. The INTRODUCTION to the main discourse, however, doesn't contain this, but simply says, 'This now is a different speech of mine to all of us'. Again, however, the immediately following paragraph--which expounds INTRODUCTION of an embedded discourse--contains the lengthy and explicit wording: 'Now that you are married, you our children, many are my requests to all of us. To you our child a man, and to you our child a woman: Be good. Your reason for being good is that your marriage would not have been performed if all of us, your parents as well as all of your relatives, had not agreed to it'. Here again it appears that a feature of the main discourse has been deleted before a similar feature in an embedded discourse.

Aside from this systematic deletion before a similar feature in an embedded discourse, it may be surmised that a CONCLUSION tagmeme relates to the INTRODUCTION of the same discourse in one or both of the following ways: (a) by mentioning again the

'I advise you' motif; and (b) by referring again to the discourse topic enunciated in the INTRODUCTION. Notice the following comparisons:

(1) Ata Manobo HORTATORY DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION (P.2) of embedded discourse:

> 'This is my topic today...
> We will ask the girl, her father, and her mother.
> We won't rush it.'

CONCLUSION (P.9) of embedded discourse:

> 'This is really what I have to say; I ask for your decision...I could have the engagement talks today. No matter what day it is, I'll come. If I'm able to secure the girl this only is my advice.'

(2) Ata Manobo HORTATORY DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION (P.10) of embedded discourse:

> 'When the marriage has taken place this only is my advice.'

CONCLUSION (P.19) of embedded discourse:

> 'Now this is really what I want to say to you. I will go as far as this in my advice to you that you should be very careful because your father has given you up, your mother has given you up. You have a place to stay. Your mother now is your mother-in-law and your father now is your father-in-law.'

(3) Second S. Bilaan HORTATORY DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION (P.1):

> 'Dong, this is my advice to you, beginning right now I want you to have good manners.'

CONCLUSION (P.7):

> 'So now, Dong, I'm really giving you advice because I don't want you to be ashamed because no matter where you are if you sin it will come back to your parents. And so, Dong, really cultivate your manners because if you are ashamed even more ashamed are your parents because we have borne you.'

(4) Second S. Bilaan HORTATORY DISCOURSE

INTRODUCTION (P.2) of embedded discourse:

'So, this is what I want of you when you go to school.'

CONCLUSION (P.11):

'But, if you are well-mannered, Dong, at school you will really pity your teacher, but if you aren't well-mannered you won't pity your teacher.'

The INTRODUCTION and CONCLUSION in the last example turn on the discourse topic 'good manners at school'. While 'at school' is mentioned in both INTRODUCTION and CONCLUSION, 'good manners' are referred to anaphorically in the INTRODUCTION [én 'this'].

The above paragraphs which expound CONCLUSION sometimes contain further material related to motivation via promise or threat.

A CONCLUSION tagmeme may echo a discourse topic which was enunciated not in an INTRODUCTION but in the first POINT of a HORTATORY DISCOURSE. The example is again from the second S. Bilaan HORTATORY DISCOURSE:

POINT_1 (P.8):

'And so, Dong, what I really want is that you believe in God' (balance of paragraph suggests various motivations).

CONCLUSION (P.9):

'Now that is what I have to tell you, Dong, about belief in God.'

The second S. Bilaan discourse has the further peculiarity that while it has a clearly marked CONCLUSION of the main discourse, no easily matching INTRODUCTION occurs. The CONCLUSION is:

'Now, Dong, that is the end of my advice to you.'

The body of the text is actually, however, the exponent of quote in a quotation sentence that occurs as the second sentence of the discourse. The first two sentences of the discourse follow:

'One night I will teach my son'.
'I'll say to him, "Dong......."'.

The first sentence of this text and the quotation formula of the second are in portmanteau function with the discourse-level INTRODUCTION.

4.5 FINIS tagmeme in HORTATORY DISCOURSE.

A further tagmeme, FINIS, much briefer and more stylized, may occur following or in preference to CONCLUSION. Thus, the Ata Manobo text ends, 'Friend, that is all', and appears to have no exponent of CONCLUSION.

The second Il. Manobo HORTATORY DISCOURSE has a CONCLUSION tagmeme permuted to unusual position (between POINTS $_2$ and $_3$ of the main discourse) and then follows POINT$_3$ with an exponent of FINIS, 'That's all I have to tell you'. The first Il. Manobo discourse has a slightly longer FINIS (which still contrasts with the five-sentence paragraph expounding CONCLUSION in that discourse): 'You will have no more instructions because that is the custom that I learned from my elders from the beginning of the creation of all of us'.

Both these examples of FINIS contrasting with CONCLUSION of HORTATORY DISCOURSE come from Manobo dialects. Further investigation is needed to see if this contrast is restricted to only certain languages, including all or part of the Manobo complex.

4.6 Nuclear tagmemes of HORTATORY DISCOURSE.

The nuclear tagmemes of a HORTATORY DISCOURSE are POINT$_1$ to POINT$_n$, i.e. a string of HORTATORY POINTS. These tagmemes are expounded by HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS and DISCOURSES and by EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS and EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES. Only Sarangani Bilaan and Tagabili report all four exponents. Ata Manobo, Il. Manobo, and Bontoc report only the first three. In Botolan Sambal, only the first two (HORTATORY PARAGRAPH and DISCOURSE) are reported.

Embedded discourses, whether HORTATORY or EXPOSITORY, may have INTRODUCTION and CONCLUSION as mentioned above.

The Tagabili HORTATORY DISCOURSE regarding one Rivera and the land problem has ten POINTS, of which six are expounded by HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS and three by EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. The HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS embody such exhortation as: 'Each of you tell Rivera (the man trying to fence off Tagabili land) that we're not letting go of Afus [the disputed land]' (PT$_1$); 'Let's not be always running to Dadiangas [the provincial center] for help; let's just stand firm' (PT$_2$); 'Don't harm his cattle yet' (PT$_4$); 'Let's struggle to be successful ourselves' (PT$_5$); 'Tell Rivera about the cement boundary marker' (PT$_8$); 'If he makes a fence, break it down' (PT$_9$); 'Tell the people to clear the land and build houses' (PT$_{10}$). PT$_3$ stops the flow of exhortation to explain that, 'It's not just Alun [another young Tagabili man] and I who are the owners'. This EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH embeds, however, a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH which begins, 'That's why I say that no matter who goes by Rivera's place, let's not be like Peter who wanted to save himself'. PT_6 is EXPLANATORY without any embedded exhortation. It has to do with the writer's attitude toward the problem: 'One thing I want you to do my brothers even if my schooling is finished I won't be able to go immediately into teaching if our fellow Tagabili are not at rest. I would just as soon die if only we could get rid of those cows of Rivera's.; PT_7 is EXPLANATORY and holds out a veiled promise: 'There is something else I'm thinking about, but I'll not tell you yet...'.

In the above it appears that PT_6 and PT_7 are intended to supply motivation. In effect, PT_6 says, 'If I'm this concerned about the problem, you all should be concerned, too'. The purpose of PT_7 is apparently to hold forth 'a ray of light', as the last sentence of that paragraph says.

These considerations make it plausible that the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS and embedded EXPOSITORY DISCOURSES that occur in HORTATORY DISCOURSES are not simply exponents of further points but exponents of some further tagmeme such as MOTIVATION. This has been, in fact, proposed by Robert Ward for Maranao. In an alternative analysis, he conceives of the text "Red Star over Islam" as a HORTATORY DISCOURSE. In the discourse there is, according to this analysis, an EXHORTATION tagmeme expounded by the second paragraph and a MOTIVATION tagmeme expounded by an embedded EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE that embraces the balance of the nucleus of the main HORTATORY DISCOURSE (with several further layers of embedding). This is part and parcel of Ward's theory that paragraph and discourse have essentially the same structure:

> "Note that the same logical relationships that exist between the tagmeme exponents within a paragraph also characterize the logical relationships that exist between paragraphs in a discourse... although the linkage between paragraphs may not be manifested in the same way as the linkage between sentences within a paragraph...".

The successive points of a HORTATORY DISCOURSE may be COORDINATE or ANTITHETICAL or even ALTERNATIVE. I have not (reflecting a point of view divergent from Ward's) set up SIMPLE, COORDINATE, ANTITHETICAL, and ALTERNATIVE as contrasting discourse types in either EXPOSITORY or HORTATORY DISCOURSE. It does not appear to me that whole discourses of EXPOSITORY or HORTATORY genre are organized according to such contrastive relationships as COORDINATE versus ANTITHETICAL versus ALTERNATIVE.

Rather, perhaps, there should be a variety of "POINT" tagmeme distinguished--all of them following one another rather freely.

4.7 Interparagraph linkage.

Harriet Minot's characterization of interparagraph linkage in B. Sambal, while asserting that linkage is "primarily by parallelism of Figures", mentions certain sentence-level elements: "some Conditional Margins, Sentence Topics.. Purpose Margin....". The latter, e.g. occurs in the last sentence of the INTRODUCTION of an embedded discourse (in "Instructions to a Young Lady") and anticipates the thrust of the five points that compose that discourse:

> INTRODUCTION:
>
> '...come near to God so that he will give you strength for your job and so that he will teach you what you ought to do.'
>
> POINT I: 'Don't forget to separate one-tenth of your wages for the Lord...'.
> POINT II: 'Be good to your companions at work.'
> POINT III: 'Come home promptly after work.'
> POINT IV: 'Think to help your parents and siblings.'
> POINT V: 'Do your work well.'

In Ata Manobo, HORTATORY DISCOURSE apparently contrasts with EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE in that the former employs linkages involving out-of-flow material:

> "The HORTATORY DISCOURSE statistically favors linkages not involving the Figures of constituent sentences in successive paragraphs. Rather, in such discourses, linkage more frequently involves PRELIMINARY and TERMINAL tagmemes of the paragraph periphery and margins of the constituent paragraphs. Thus, in the attached HORTATORY DISCOURSE there are twenty constituent paragraphs, five of which are coordinate and consist of two embedded paragraphs each. A total of twenty-four linkages is involved. Of these, only seven involve materials in the Figure of the sentences... The other linkages involve PRELIMINARY and TERMINAL tagmemes and Sentence Margins."

For Sarangani Bilaan, however, McLachlin and Blackburn posit that the interparagraph linkage is fundamentally the same whether in EXPOSITORY or HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS, viz. through the DISCOURSE TOPIC.

In Tagabili, Doris Porter posits fundamentally the same grammatical interparagraph linkage in HORTATORY as in EXPOSITORY DISCOURSE, viz. "to the objective stated in the INTRODUCTION tagmeme". She is dubious regarding lexical linkage in this discourse genre:

> "It is difficult to determine a pattern of linkage in the lexical hierarchy in HORTATORY DISCOURSE. Consecutive HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS often do not link at all."

In Bontoc, Lawrence Reid construes lexical versus grammatical linkage in a somewhat different manner. I quote at length:

> "Expansion is a linkage system in which a theme is presented either in the APERTURE [=INTRODUCTION] or in the first POINT, and is developed in subsequent POINTS, until its recapitulation in the CLOSURE [=CONCLUSION] tagmeme....
> "This is illustrated in Text JVW. The theme, presented as the first EXHORTATION in paragraph 1 is 'If you like to join the men's group at Datal, whatever is done at the group house, you should join in doing.' The balance of the first paragraph consists of a series of REASON tagmemes, in which the hearer is exhorted to join in with the activities associated with omen hunting: ceremonial fishing, listening for bird calls, and culminating daw-es sacrifice, and dancing. POINT 2 exhorts the hearer to join in the dang-as work group, an activity in which for one day, all the men of a group house join in helping one of the members with work which needs done. POINT 3 exhorts the hearer to join the obbo work group, in which the men of each group house are divided into teams to work with unmarried women mainly during the samal 'wet season', or 'soil-preparation season.' POINT 4 is EXPLANATORY. It begins with a structure parallel to that of each of the preceding paragraphs, but instead of the expected exhortation to join the onod ceremony at which the obbo groups are formed, an explanation of formation of the groups occurs. (Notice, however, that 2nd person is still prominent, but as goal of the activities, not actor.) This POINT may still be considered to be an expansion of the theme stated in POINT 1. POINT 5 is an embedded HORTATORY DISCOURSE on reliability and endurance. It is also an expansion of the theme, in that these two character traits are expected of men in the group house, and of someone who plans to join the group house. POINT 1 of the embedded discourse states the subsidiary theme of

reliability (*EXHOR*) and endurance or patience (*REINF*). *POINT 2* of the embedded discourse develops the theme of endurance in relation to *obbo* work during a typhoon. Both endurance and reliability are the themes of *POINT 3* of the embedded discourse, each developed with reference to the *dang-as* work group. *CLOSURE* recapitulates the theme; 'That is what is done to join the men's group house. Even though you are a married man, and you have thought that there a place you'd like to meet at, that is what is to be done.' The *POST-FINAL POINT* is a further expansion of the theme which occurred to the speaker after formally closing his discourse. It develops the theme in relation to both activities and character traits expected of an unmarried man who wants to join the group house.

"Expansion linkage is a lexical linkage. Grammatical linkage also occurs. Each consecutive paragraph is joined to the preceding paragraph by a particle which has been analyzed at the sentence level as manifesting a *Sentence Introducer* tagmeme. It should be noted, however, that certain *Sentence Introducers* never occur initially in a discourse; their prime function is to formally mark paragraph junctures.

"Paragraph 3 is introduced by *kad*, *nalpas di*. The form *kad* has no lexical content. *Nalpas di* 'after that', is frequently used for linking paragraphs in *NARRATIVE* and *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE*. Paragraphs 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 and 13 each begin with *dey* 'there', which in this context could be translated freely as 'having said that'. Paragraphs 10, 14, and 15 have no formal link. Notice that they are each embedded. However, the two sections of the COORDINATE PARAGRAPH expounding *POINT 3* (Paragraphs 5 and 6) are linked with *dey* (sentence 13).

"*CLOSURE* begins with the words *siya di* 'it that', a phrase which formally links the sentence of which it is a part with what precedes it, in this case, the whole discourse.

"Paragraphs are formally linked to form discourses by both anaphora and deletion. An instance of anaphora has been shown above to provide the formal link between *CLOSURE* and the rest of the discourse. An anaphora chain which provides a formal discourse link begins in sentence 1 with the phrase *nan amam-a*, 'the men'. A chain of pronominal reference to 'the men' occurs in sentences 2-5, 11, 13, 15-16, 19, 21, and 24. The use of the 2nd person pronoun is a

> further anaphora chain providing discourse unity. (The nominal referent to this chain is not stated directly but via Concessive Margins, e.g. sentences 6, 11, and 26, 'Even though you are a married man.')
> "Deletion is not a common feature of HORTATORY DISCOURSE linkage. Its specialized use as polite 2nd person singular reference is referred to above. The use of deletion is more characteristic of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE...."

5 DRAMATIC DISCOURSE

A further type of discourse, which we here term DRAMATIC is witnessed to in Ilianen and Ata Manobo. In terms of the person and temporal orientation which characterized the discourse genre already described, we characterize Manobo DRAMATIC DISCOURSE as follows:

(1) Multiple first and second persons with minimum or zero narration.
(2) Concurrent time.

5.1 In Ilianen Manobo.

DRAMATIC DISCOURSE in Ilianen Manobo is described as follows by Hazel Wrigglesworth:

> "1. The drama is told in multiple first person with extremely minimal or no narration (Text I has a single beginning sentence of narration; Text II possesses none).
>
> "2. No Quotation Formula appears. Even when an initial sentence of narration occurs (Text I), the narrator does not identify even the initial speaker. This information is provided for within the text of the dialogue itself. Participant-two, in his reply, refers to participant-one as his 'older brother'.
>
> "Clarification of speech boundaries is also provided for within the dialogue, often by use of the first-person-inclusive/first-person-exclusive pronouns. (Text I, S3, 4) Participant 2 in his first reply uses dey 'we, exclusive' referring to his own family exclusive of his brother's. But when he replies again in S.6 he employs ta 'we, inclusive' which includes his brother's family because progression in the information conveyed through repartée of dialogue now demands it.
>
> "3. Scenes (3 different scenes in Text II) are also identified within the dialogue itself.

> Initial questions of each scene when combined with the response clearly identify the participants, as well as laying the setting for the scene.
>
> "Example from Text II:
> (Scene I: On trail)
> S. 1 'Where are you coming from?'
> S. 2 'Aunt, Oh, I'm coming from Uncle's house because I gathered sweet potatoes from Uncle's wife.'
> (Scene II: At Grandfather's)
> S.10 'Where are you going, Bayi, that you've come to me?'
> S.11 'What I've come for is that I'm being sent by Father to see if you're still planning to camp out because Father will go with you.'
> (Scene III: Back home)
> S.17,18 'How about it, Bayi, the errand I sent you on? What did you find out from Grandfather?'
> S.19 'This is what Grandfather says concerning your camping out: he will not go ahead because he is detained by a child who is ill...'.
>
> "4. Time is not accomplished but concurrent. Inference of sequence of time is carried within the dialogue by the 'coming', 'going', 'happening', and 'doing' of each of its participants.
>
> "Example from Text I:
> S.4 'What is happening with you because let's share experiences here.'
> S.12 'Let's separate now because you'll look inside the market for what you have to buy and I'll look also for what my wife has asked for.'
> S.14 'I'll go home soon because my fence isn't finished.'
> S.19 'Later on I'll do the other things because they are my other work.'"

5.2 In Ata Manobo.

Shirley Abbott and I describe Ata Manobo DRAMATIC DISCOURSE as follows:

> "A fourth type of discourse, DRAMATIC DISCOURSE, is attested in Ata. In the one recorded discourse belonging to this type it is evident that we have another genre. Aside from APERTURE, FINIS and one sentence in the DENOUEMENT, this

> text consists entirely of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS. In these paragraphs Quotation Formulas are used very sparingly--so sparingly that it is often impossible (and beside the point) to ascertain precisely how many speakers are involved or where there is a change of speaker. While the repartée of dialogue obviously requires change of speaker at certain points, the thrust of the text is to recreate a dramatic scene--one in which verbal activity is very prominent--by simply reporting activity. Furthermore, the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS have the further added peculiarity that they do not contain non-dialogue peripheries (e.g. BUILD-UP, SETTING, or TERMINUS tagmemes). In this respect, DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS found in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE are distinct from those found in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. In the latter, non-dialogue peripheries are not only permitted but frequent. We therefore define DRAMATIC DISCOURSE as any discourse whose nucleus consists of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS, the bulk of which do not contain non-dialogue peripheries. From this point of view it is not necessary that a discourse be written with an intent to be staged for it to be a DRAMATIC DISCOURSE but rather that it have a certain formal structure (and consequent vividness and directness of impact).
> "A DRAMATIC DISCOURSE tells a story in a very direct way. It implies certain movements through space and time. These may be inferred from the dialogue itself."

5.3 Summary of DRAMATIC DISCOURSE.

From the above description it appears that Manobo DRAMATIC DISCOURSE has the following structure:

± APERTURE expounded by Simple (Narrative) Sentence; $+EP_1 - EP_n$ expounded by DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS--typically with (a) no use of Quotation Formula in the sentences which report speech; and (b) without non-dialogue paragraph periphery; ± DENOUEMENT with much the same exponents; ± CLOSURE expounded by Simple (Narrative) Sentence. The presence of a narrator is seen only (1) in APERATURE and CLOSURE--both of which are optional and (2) in use of Quotation Sentences with Quotation Formulas (infrequent).

When both these factors are lacking--as in the second Il. Manobo DRAMATIC DISCOURSE--no part of the discourse reflects the viewpoint of a narrator. Assuredly the discourse has a compiler, but the compiler has framed the discourse specifically to rule out a narrator as such. The effect is similar to that of a tape-recorded conversation.

In the Ata Manobo DRAMATIC DISCOURSE "Fencing Wild Pigs", the standpoint of a narrator is more in evidence than in either Il. Manobo text. Both APERTURE and CLOSURE occur. In addition, the DENOUEMENT is expounded by a paragraph which has both Quotation Formula in one of its sentences and a non-dialogue periphery:

> 'Now you talk.
> "Hoo, hoo" said the people.
> The pigs were routed.'

Furthermore, of the twenty-five EPISODES of the discourse, EPISODES 1, 12, 24, and 25 are expounded by paragraphs which contain sentences with Quotation Formulas. It is perhaps relevant to note the tendency of those paragraphs to cluster at three places: Discourse-initial, discourse-final, and discourse-medial. The latter may be defined as proximity to the DENOUEMENT which comes between EPISODES 13 and 14.

What is the structural status of sentences which report speech without Quotation Formula? Are they Direct Quotation Sentences with deleted Quotation Formulas? To make such an assumption may be to miss the whole point of Manobo DRAMATIC DISCOURSE. The purpose is to 'take you there' and create an illusion of reality by letting each dramatis persona speak out in his own right. When for any reason it is desired to identify a speaker by means of a Quotation Formula it may be done. Perhaps, therefore, here and only here need we assume the presence of a Direct Quotation Sentence.

It is evident that of the discourse genre previously described, Manobo DRAMATIC DISCOURSE is most similar to NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. Some differences are (1) maximal versus minimal role of narrator in NARRATIVE versus DRAMATIC DISCOURSE; (2) accomplished time in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE versus concurrent time in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE; (3) nuclear tagmemes (EPISODE and DENOUEMENT) expounded by various paragraph types in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE, but expounded only by DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE; (4) occasional context-conditioned use of Quotation Sentence with deleted Quotation Formula in NARRATIVE versus only sparing use of Quotation Formula in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE where most speech is directly reported without the mediation of a narrator at all; (5) regular occurrence of non-dialogue peripheries (SETTING, BUILD-UP, and TERMINUS) in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE versus almost total non-occurrence in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE (only in the DENOUEMENT PARAGRAPH of Ata

Manobo discourse, and here only as PARAGRAPH TERMINUS). In fact, the use of dialogue periphery (remarks not tying into the nuclear repartée of a conversational exchange) in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE probably is intended to fulfill a function similar to that of the non-dialogue periphery in the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS found in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE.

In brief, not only do overall features (person and temporal orientation) differ between NARRATIVE and DRAMATIC DISCOURSE, but even the structure of the component paragraphs and sentences is affected as well.

6 The ACTIVITY DISCOURSE (Bontoc)

Still another type of discourse, the ACTIVITY DISCOURSE, is posited for Bontoc by Lawrence Reid. I quote again at length from Reid's own description:

> "1.4 ACTIVITY DISCOURSE
>
> "The PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE type discussed in 1.3 may be characterized as 'How to Make' discourse. The ACTIVITY DISCOURSE discussed in this section may be characterized as 'What to Do' discourse. Discourses of this type may relate anything from a single activity (as in the appended discourse to the Text WFT, which discusses in a single paragraph the use of a fish trap), to part or all of the annual cycle of village activity (as in the accompanying text, "The Story of Men of Long Ago, as to What Should be Done", henceforth referred to as WSD).
>
> "ACTIVITY DISCOURSE has characteristics of both NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, yet is sufficiently distinct to warrant its being considered as a separate discourse type. The points of similarity with NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, will be discussed further below.
>
> "This discourse type begins with an optional APERTURE and/or DISCOURSE TOPIC. DISCOURSE TOPIC is distinct from TITLE. Note that in WSD, both TITLE and DISCOURSE TOPIC occur, with close lexical association (sik-od ikakaman 'should be done' occur in both TITLE and DISCOURSE TOPIC). DISCOURSE TOPIC is expounded by a verb phrase, making it quite distinct from Sentence Topic, which is never manifested by a verb phrase, and which also normally requires some sort of concord pronominal reference in the Base Clause which it immediately precedes. DISCOURSE TOPIC is, like Sentence Topic phonologically attached to the grammatical sentence

which it precedes; however, unlike Sentence Topic, it is not analyzed as part of the grammatical sentence structure but of the discourse. The body or nucleus of the discourse is presented in a series of ACTIVITY tagmemes, whose exponents will be discussed below in section 3.

"An optional CLOSURE tagmeme occurs, with an obligatory FINIS when the discourse is not embedded. FINIS does not occur when the discourse is embedded.

"Further identifying characteristics of this discourse type are discussed below.

"1. Person orientation.

Orientation of an ACTIVITY DISCOURSE may be to 1st person, 2nd person (see WFT), or to 3rd person (see WSD).

"2. Tense orientation.

ACTIVITY is similar to PROCEDURE in its tense orientation. It is oriented towards non-past, or projected activity. In WSD the only occurrence of a clause with a past tense verb in the nucleus of a sentence (that is excluding the past tense verbal forms interpreted as completed or perfect, occurring in the Margins of the sentences) occurs embedded in sentence 57, and is probably poorly formed in relation to the discourse; although out of context, the sentence is well formed.

"3. Composition.

ACTIVITY tagmemes are primarily expounded by PROJECT PARAGRAPHS, (14 of the 26 embedded and non-embedded paragraphs in WSD are PROJECT). They may also be expounded by EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS (8 EXPL. PARAGRAPHS occur in WSD). An ACTIVITY DISCOURSE may also consist of a series of ACTIVITY tagmemes expounded by embedded ACTIVITY DISCOURSES; WSD is such a text.

"In WSD, ACTIVITY 1 deals with the cycle of village activities from time rice is harvested, until the formation of obbo work groups at the beginning of samal, the soil preparation season. ACTIVITY 2 deals with the cycle of activities from this point through the preparation of the fields, planting, transplanting and growing of rice, sacrifices and ceremonies associated with the crop, harvesting of sugar cane, and other types of work until and including harvesting of rice. This completes the annual cycle, but in ACTIVITY 3 the reporter again deals with the activities from harvest until the formation of the

> work groups, but this time he focuses his attention on different aspects of the same period from those discussed in ACTIVITY 1. ACTIVITY 3 is to some degree, however, a recapitulation of ACTIVITY 1 as is obvious from the lexical associations between the two ACTIVITIES discussed in the following section."

Reid continues with a long section on interparagraph linkage in the specific Bontoc ACTIVITY DISCOURSE which he has analyzed. Head-tail links are described which involve a portion of one sentence recapitulated as a Time Margin in the following sentence (as in NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE). Reid also carefully describes the patterns of repetition of lexical items and anaphora chains found in this type of discourse.

7 Finally, still another discourse type, the EPISTOLARY, is posited by Claudia Whittle for Atta Negrito. I quote her own description of this discourse genre:

> "EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE has three peripheral tagmemes: an obligatory SALUTATION, which begins a letter; an optional CLOSURE; and an obligatory FINIS. SALUTATION and FINIS tagmemes are manifested by special paragraph types which will be described in the section on paragraphs. CLOSURE tagmeme usually occurs just before the FINIS and includes farewell remarks, instructions such as where or how to send a reply, or a summary.
>
> "The tagmemes of EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE are very loosely linked by reference linkage. Paragraphs which manifest the tagmemes following the first nuclear tagmeme manifested in the discourse contain such words as 'also' and 'more' in reference to 'writing' or 'telling'. These words usually occur in the initial sentence of the new paragraph, indicating that something went before to which the new paragraph is linked.
>
> "Reference linkage also links the manifested tagmemes of an EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE with a previous discourse, usually also an EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE (a letter received by the writer). In this case the link is manifested by some comment referring to material in the previous discourse.
>
> "The nuclear tagmemes of EPISTOLARY DISCOURSES are four: REPORT, which may or may not expect a comment; INQUIRY, which expects an answer; PETITION, which desires some action; and COUNSEL, which also desires action.
>
> "The formula for EPISTOLARY DISCOURSE is:
> + SALUTATION + (± REPORT^n ± INQUIRY^n ± PETITION^n ± COUNSEL^n) ± CLOSURE ± FINIS."

APPENDIX

List of papers (unpublished) that constitute the subject data of this section.

1. Claudia Whittle, Atta Discourse and Paragraph Structure.
2. Lawrence A. Reid, Notes on Central Bontoc Discourse and Paragraph Structures.
3. Harriet Minot, Botolan Sambal Discourse.
4. Hazel Wrigglesworth, Discourse and Paragraph Structure of Ilianen Manobo.
5. Doris Porter, Tagabili Paragraph and Discourse Structure.
6. Betty McLachlin and Barbara Blackburn, Discourse and Paragraph Structure: Sarangani Bilaan.
7. Shirley M. Abbott and R. E. Longacre, Discourse and Paragraph Structure: Ata Manobo.
8. Myra L. Barnard and R. E. Longacre, Lexicon versus Grammar in Dibabawon Procedural Narrative Discourse.
9. Robert Ward, Maranao Sentence, Paragraph, and Discourse Structure.

PART 2

PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE

PARAGRAPH STRUCTURE

0 Theory of Paragraph structure.

The following description of Philippine paragraph structures is based on four assumptions:

(1) There is a finite number of paragraph types in any language with recursive embedding of paragraph within paragraph (of the same or different type).
(2) Relations among the parts of a paragraph resemble on the one hand those within the sentence, and on the other hand those within the discourse.
(3) Sentences which expound tagmemes within the nucleus of a given paragraph type are linked in specific and stateable ways.
(4) Paragraphs may be initiated, closed, or interrupted by non-linked material.

These assumptions are discussed in detail below.

0.1 Recursion.

A finite number of paragraph types can be posited only if recursive nesting of paragraph within paragraph is also posited. Otherwise, it would be necessary to posit an infinite number of paragraph types.

This means that whenever in the interior of a paragraph one finds two or more sentences that seem to belong together this unity is indicative of an embedded paragraph. Furthermore, inspection of the sequence of sentences will reveal that the sequence as a matter of fact exhibits the structure of one of the recognized paragraph types. Unstructured sequences, or strings of sentences which do not constitute a paragraph structure, do not occur.

0.2 Resemblance to sentence and discourse.

Relations within the paragraph resemble somewhat certain relations within the sentence. Thus a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH--which has events in chronological sequence--resembles somewhat the Sequence Sentence (found as a distinct type in many languages) in which events also are marshalled in chronological sequence. PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS are broadly similar to NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS which consist primarily of a TEXT and various EXPOSITION tagmemes resemble Paraphrase Sentences which consist of a statement and one or more expansions.

Both the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH and the *Paraphrase Sentence* are characterized by parallelism. HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS are similar to EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS may be broadly compared to *Quotation Sentences*. COMPOUND PARAGRAPHS, whether NARRATIVE, EXPLANATORY, or DIALOGUE, resemble *Coordinate Sentences*. ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPHS, whether EXPLANATORY, or HORTATORY, resemble *Antithetical Sentences*.

On the other hand, paragraph types also correlate somewhat with the discourse genre previously described. Thus *NARRATIVE*, *PROCEDURAL*, *EXPOSITORY*, *HORTATORY*, and *DRAMATIC DISCOURSE* genre, all have counterparts in NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, EXPLANATORY, and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS.

Nevertheless, the independence of the three levels--sentence, paragraph, and discourse--must be maintained. The variety and specialization of sentence structure characteristically exceeds that of paragraph in most languages. Furthermore, the G-sentence approximately correlates with the phonological sentence while the G-paragraph is typically composed of a sequence of G-sentences. In turn, while discourse genre and paragraph types are similar, a discourse of a given genre may be composed of various types of paragraphs. This is noticeably true of the *NARRATIVE DISCOURSE* whose *EPISODE* and *DENOUEMENT* tagmemes may be expounded by any type of paragraph. Furthermore, discourses have elements of wholeness and closure which do not characterize paragraphs.

The hierarchical interrelations of sentence, paragraph, and discourse may be summarized by saying that the primary exponents of discourse-level tagmemes are paragraphs while the primary exponents of paragraph-level tagmemes are sentences. Secondary exponents of discourse-level tagmemes are embedded discourses just as secondary exponents of paragraph-level tagmemes are embedded paragraphs. To put it simply: discourses are composed of paragraphs and of embedded discourses, while paragraphs are composed of sentences and embedded paragraphs.

The similarity of the paragraph to the sentence on the one hand and to the discourse on the other hand is due to its hierarchical placement. In similar fashion, the sentence bears a certain resemblance to both clause and paragraph while a phrase has a resemblance to both clause and word. Any hierarchical level may have a certain resemblance to contiguous levels.

0.3 Nucleus versus periphery.

The distinction between nucleus and periphery is applicable to constructions on all hierarchical levels. It is only the sentences within the nucleus of the paragraph that are linked in specific and diagnostic fashion. In general, the linkage is of three sorts: (1) chaining--in which part of a sentence is recapitulated or explicitly referred to in the onset of the succeeding sentence; (2) parallelism--in which all or part of one sentence is paraphrased in the following sentence as a whole or in some specific part of that sentence; and (3) repartée--in which what is said by one speaker evokes something from (normally) another speaker(s). The first sort of nuclear linkage is characteristic of NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS; the second, of EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS; the third, of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS.

0.4 Unlinked material.

Paragraphs have preposed and postposed peripheries, i.e. tagmemes such as SETTING and TERMINUS (in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS) which do not share in the regular sentence to sentence linkage. Sometimes the material in the paragraph periphery is only loosely associated with the material of the nucleus; at other times it links with the nucleus as a whole but not specifically to immediately contiguous sentences. Often the function of the periphery is to bind the paragraph into the surrounding context.

Besides the non-linked material of the paragraph periphery, there may also occur parenthetical material which interrupts the nucleus and does not link into it.

0.5 Subject data.

This report on Philippine paragraph structures is based on article-length treatments of paragraph structure in the following languages: two dialects of Bilaan; Tagabili; Ata, Ilianen, and Dibabawon Manobo; Mansaka; Maranao (all from Mindanao); Atta Negrito; Itneg; Botolan Sambal; and Bontoc (all from Luzon). In addition, some indications regarding paragraph structures come in incidental to descriptions of sentence structures in Kalamian Tagbanwa (from an island north of Palawan). Full names of papers and authors are listed at the end of this part of Vol. I.

I have also a brief Tausug discourse whose paragraph structures I analyzed in loose consultation with Seymour Ashley and a further Dibabawon discourse for whose analysis I am similarly responsible--although the analysis was discussed briefly with Forster and Barnard.

NARRATIVE, PROCEDURAL, EXPLANATORY, HORTATORY, and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS are set up in Bilaan, Tagabili, Atta, Itneg, and Bontoc. In Maranao the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH is considered to be a sub-type of the NARRATIVE. In Mansaka, Ilianen Manobo, and Ata Manobo, a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH is not posited. HORTATORY PARAGRAPH is not posited in Ata Manobo. A few further paragraph types are posited in some other languages.

1 NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS

NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS in various languages conform to the general formula: ± SETTING (± BUILD-UP$_1$...+ BUILD-UP$_n$)± TERMINUS. In this formula the SETTING and TERMINUS are peripheral, while a chain of an indefinite number of BUILD-UP tagmemes is nuclear. In that there are conditions under which it is desirable to posit a one-sentence paragraph, only the BUILD-UP$_n$ is indicated as obligatory. In the following paragraphs the structure of the nucleus is first described, then that of the periphery. Additional considerations follow.

1.1 Linkage within the nucleus of the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH.

Just as the *sine qua non* of NARRATIVE genre is chronological sequence, so such sequence is likewise central to the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. While, however, a variety of devices secure chronological sequence on the discourse level, on the paragraph level the linking mechanisms are simpler. In describing this linking mechanism it is necessary to take account of variation both in the grammatical form of the linkage and also in its lexical form as well.

Regardless, however, of the varying grammatical or lexical forms of narrative linkage, the device basically consists in repeating, paraphrasing, or referring in some manner at the onset of a succeeding sentence to the whole or part of the preceding sentence. The repeated material in each succeeding sentence serves as a *Ground* for the novel material which is the *Figure* for that sentence. In proceeding through a series of BUILD-UP tagmemes overtly linked by this device the *Figure* of each sentence becomes the *Ground* of the succeeding sentence.

This is exemplified in the following Itneg paragraphs:

"Olila", Para. 5

Ground	Figure	
	They went to the place where they were going to do the singeing.	BU$_1$
It was bad, when they arrived	they were going to singe a boar.	BU$_2$
When they had singed it	the old man took half of it, he almost didn't leave any, he consumed the viand they had made.	BU$_3$
After they had eaten like that	they went home.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 1

"Bakid", Para. 3

Ground	Figure	
	He went.	BU_1
When he arrived in the forest	he chopped the trees.	BU_2
When he had chopped them	he shaped them.	BU_3
When he had shaped them	he went home again.	BU_n

EXAMPLE 2

1.1.1 Grammatical form of the linkage.

The grammatical form of the linkage varies according to the exponents of *Time Margin* on the sentence level in the various languages studied. This is therefore discussed and presented in more detail in Volume II where the sentence structures are summarized. In some languages more than one sentence-level *Time Margin* is posited and only certain of these *Time Margins* are exploited in narrative linkage.

A frequent form of the narrative link is a gerundative construction prefixed with *pag-*/*pagka-* (Dibabawon, Mansaka, Tagbanwa), or *pog-* (Ata Manobo), or *ka-* (Bilaan, Maranao), or *ke-* (Tagabili); *ka-*/*paka-* (Atta Negrito).[1]

The following examples illustrate use of Ata Manobo gerundative forms (prefixed with *pag-*) as narrative linkage:

Al Para. 2 294

Ground	Figure	
Later on the same day	there was a false god because the god said, "Adam, lie down at the foot of the *mansana* tree."	BU_1
Having laid down (*poghibat*) at the foot of the *mansana* tree	there was a python who climbed the trunk of the tree.	BU_2
The python, having eaten (*pogko-on*) some of the *mansana* fruit	the juice dripped down.	BU_3
0	The juice of the *mansanas* dripped into Adam's mouth.	BU_n

EXAMPLE 3

---

[1] In his paper *Aborlan Tagbanwa Sentence Structure*, Stewart Hussey, shows that independent verbs in independent clauses may be prefixed with *pag-* (in A. Tagbanwa). Such verbs may not be recapitulated or referred to in the following sentence in a *pag-* form but rather in a *pagka-* form.

"Pedro", Para. 7

Ground	Figure	
Then (nokoy kaman)	Peter left.	BU$_1$
[Having walked] (poghipanow)	He went to the foot of the balete tree.	BU$_2$
Then (nokoy kaman) looking there at the foot of the balete tree	it was very bright; like the sun in brightness.	BU$_n$
Then you saw it.		TERM

EXAMPLE 4

The identical construction in Sarangani Bilaan prefixes k(a)- but serves the same function in narrative linkage; see the examples below:

Text16 Para. 3

Ground	Figure	
And then (Na nè nean nan)	The soldiers left to catch Jesus.	BU$_1$
And when they arrived (kakel) there	they just looked to see whom Judas kissed.	BU$_2$
And when they saw (takitela) the person that Judas kissed	then they caught Him and tied Him up and they took Him to the mountain named Calvary.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 5

Text 1 Para. 3

Ground	Figure	
And when I heard that (kaklingegu)	first I was just silent; for a long time I didn't talk.	BU$_{13}$
And when I was able to talk (katalugu)	then I said, "They would not send that letter if Mother hadn't already died."	BU$_{14}$
And when we finished (kafngemi) talking..	then we cried.	BU$_n$
And I said, "Oh, it is really so that Mother has already died."		TERM

EXAMPLE 6

Relator-Axis Clauses with Relators meaning such things as 'when', 'after', and 'while' also occur as narrative links. Thus in Tagabili ngang...efet 'continue...until' occurs in BU$_1$ and BU$_n$ of the following paragraph; it serves to link BU$_2$ and BU$_n$:

"Bat Cave", Supp. Para. Ex. 1

Ground	Figure	
He continued going until (ngang...efet)	he looked up and saw a ray of light.	BU$_1$
And then	he drew out his knife and twisted it around in the place where the ray of light was and the sky was revealed.	BU$_2$
He continued twisting the knife until (ngang...efet)	the hole was big and then he climbed out and then he was at Sabu.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 7

Tagabili also employs the Relator igò 'while' in Relator-Axis Sentences which function in narrative linkage. In the following examples from two separate paragraphs, the BU$_1$ and BU$_2$ are linked in this manner:

Supp. Para. Ex. 23

Ground	Figure	
When it was almost the middle of the morning then	I returned and stopped by to eat some young coconut on the path.	BU$_1$
While (igò) I was still eating the young coconut	I just saw Awey coming from downstream carrying a small bag over his shoulder.	BU$_2$

EXAMPLE 8

Supp. Para. Ex. 24

Ground	Figure	
Old Man arrived up in the house and then	he cooked it, he cooked it in a big kettle.	BU$_1$
While (igò) what Old Man was cooking was boiling	one of Big Spirit's children said, "Hey, that looks like Father's feet."	BU$_2$

EXAMPLE 9

Tagabili employs still another Relator, timbów/tikong meaning 'when' (completed action):

"My Going to Manila" Supp. Ex. 6

Ground	Figure	
	I happened to hear a person say that they were going to take me to Manila.	BU_1
When (timbów) I heard this	I trembled in my chest but I couldn't believe it.	BU_2

EXAMPLE 10

"My Going to Manila" Supp. Ex. 7

Ground	Figure	
Then	they fed us.	BU_2
When (timbów) we had eaten, then	Dick took me with him.	BU_n

EXAMPLE 11

The relative frequency of the Relator-Axis Sentence as a link versus other linkage devices depends on the particular language. Thus, while Tagabili makes extensive use of Relator-Axis Sentences as narrative links, apparently the closely-related Bilaan does not. Thus, Blackburn and McLachlin write concerning Sarangani Bilaan: "The Relator-Axis Sentence is introduced by the conjunction kanto 'when' [Spanish loanword? REL]. This construction appears to be rarely used as in the three texts analyzed it only occurred twice." One of these examples follows:

Text 11, Para. 4

Ground	Figure	
And when I heard that (Na kaklingegu)	it really hit me because I knew I was a person who gambled.	BU_5:EX PARA. TEXT EXPO
	All that the pastor said ..hit me because he said that people that gamble.. suffer..	
And when (kanto) I heard that	I said, "If I don't accept God, I will live in eternal suffering."	BU_n

EXAMPLE 12

In Ata Manobo, Relator-Axis Sentences do not play a part in narrative linkage. Shirley Abbott comments: "We would expect also to find the ko---'when'... Relator-Axis Sentences functioning in narrative linkage. In analyzed data to date, however, no use of such constructions occurs, although some informants have agreed that such could be supplied. Such sentences have been found as Temporal Margin within sentences expounding a BU_1 but again, this is not a linkage mechanism within the paragraph."

In some Manobo dialects a special tense form ('irrealis' or dependent tense) characterizes clauses which function in the Time Margin of sentences, where they can serve as narrative linkage. Patricia Hartung notes as follows regarding Ata Manobo: (1) verbs with irrealis tense (m-) may occur as the only verb in a one-clause sentence--in which case the sentence presumably expounds a BU within a chain of such tagmemes; (2) both verbs in certain sentence types composed of Dependent Clause plus Dependent Clause may occur in this tense form; (3) a clause with a verb in the irrealis may precede a clause with verb marked for completive--in which case the clause irrealis expounds a Temporal Margin tagmeme of the sentence periphery. I assume from the examples of situation (3) given by Hartung that these clauses with irrealis verbs function as links in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. Note the following example: 'When the horses arrived (verb with m-) this shaman said "Who's there?"'-wherein very probably the Ata Manobo equivalent of 'when the horses arrived' functions as a narrative link. Also: 'When these bachelors arose (verb with m-) they took down their bolos and put them on.' Shirley Abbott does not mention this variety of narrative linkage but she concentrated more on other discourse genre than on the narrative.

Similar use of clauses with dependent tense forms in Temporal Margins--where presumably they function in narrative linkage--are mentioned for Binukid and Western Bukidnon Manobo.

In Tagabili, Doris Porter assumes that "There are a few examples in data analyzed to date where the Relator is deleted, resulting in apparently Independent Clauses filling the Temporal Margin slot. In all cases the Relator may be supplied."

"Abusama", Para. 8

Ground	Figure	
Again how many nights there	there was a telegram that came to him, the Mayor there requested him to come.	BU_1
The boy arrived there (When the boy arrived there)	he was guarded so that he couldn't get out in case he might run away.	BU_n

EXAMPLE 13

"Old Man and Big Spirit", Supp. Para. Ex. 5

Ground	Figure	
	The old man left taking his ax.	BU_1
Old Man arrived at Big Spirit's house (When Old Man...etc.)	Big Spirit was still asleep, snoring.	BU_2

EXAMPLE 14

For the closely related (Sarangani) Bilaan, Blackburn and McLachlin posit occurrences of Independent Clauses in Temporal Margin (so I interpret it) as a regular occurrence without assuming the deletion of a Relator. The construction is tagged, however, with such a phrase as kafdu én 'after that' or nè nean 'then'. In the following examples Independent Clause with a completive verb joins BU_1 and BU_2 in both examples:

Text 17 Para. 2

Ground	Figure	
And after (kafdula) they bought the shoes	then we drank cokes and ate donuts.	BU_1
And after that (Na kafdu én), we had finished drinking there (tafnge gami minun déén)	we proceeded on to my typing school.	BU_2

EXAMPLE 15

Text 17 Para. 7

Ground	Figure	
After that (kafdu én) in the morning (takwal)	very early I made my breakfast.	BU_1
And then (Nè nean) my breakfast was cooked (tataga i knaan nimògu én)	and I ate.	BU_2

EXAMPLE 16

In Bontoc the regular form of the Time Margin is neither a Gerundative nor a Relator-Axis Sentence but an Independent Clause. It is precisely its paragraph-level function in narrative linkage that most readily identifies such an Independent Clause as a Time Margin.

All the languages contain conjunctions or conjunctive complexes that supply narrative movement between the BU's of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. Such a narrative conjunction (meaning something on the order of 'and then') may occur by itself or in conjunction with a Time Margin. When occurring by itself such a conjunction or conjunctive complex in effect acts as a substitute for a margin, i.e. as a pro-margin. Its presence tells us that a margin could be supplied by recapitulating or referring to part of the previous sentence.

Use of Time Margins as narrative links is commoner in some languages than others. Between any two consecutive BU's it is possible to supply a Time Margin link in most languages. The supply of such a link is, in effect, a diagnostic transformation for sentences expounding BU's. In Bontoc and Itneg, however, where some informants object to extensive use of Time Margin linkage, the ability to supply a sequence particle 'and then' (of the sort that transforms any two consecutive sentences into one sequence sentence) is a more useful diagnostic transformation.

So regular is the use of Time Margin in narrative linkage throughout the Philippines that the following paragraph from Mansaka is most unusual. In the sentence expounding BU$_5$ postposed Cause Margin 'because their father was surrounded' recapitulates the sentence which expounds BU$_4$. 'Then the invaders surrounded him.' Here, the postposed Cause Margin acts as narrative link. Another unusual feature is in the sentence which expounds BU$_n$. Here the novel material, the Figure is in the postposed Time Margin 'while others carried the old man away because he was weak.' This is an unusual Ground-Figure inversion unparalleled in any other Philippine language in our present corpus (but compare Example 28 for a further Mansaka example).[2] Note, however, that it is the preposed Ground which regularly functions as narrative linkage--not such a postposed Time Margin as here exemplified in this unusual example:

(Mansaka Paragraph without text reference)
BU$_1$: Coordinate Sentence Yagsikaindugan da silan,
stood-up-together they

yagsipangawas da silan, aw yang mangayaw yanagpaboto ra sang
jumped-down together they and rel invaders fired already rel
kanilan manga sinapang.
to-them pl gun

BU$_2$: Simple Sentence Kayan kyomawas si Boro.
then jumped-down rel Boro

BU$_3$: Simple Sentence Pagkaawas naan, yakapaslong nang
having-jumped he caused-to stick rel
arad asang sarad nang baray.
fence at-the side rel house

---

[2] Two further observations: (a) the word durug 'while' in the BU$_n$ could just as well have gone on the first clause as the second; (b) such constructions are common in English: 'Mary went downtown while John stayed home'/'While Mary went downtown, John stayed home.'

BU$_4$: Simple Sentence Na kayan dyaginsul nang mangayaw.
now then surrounded rel invaders

BU$_5$: Simple Sentence Yang manga giyusugan si Adon, si
rel pl strong-man rel " rel

Magadam, si Komanyan, arag da kyomawas, kay dyaginsul da
" rel " also jumped-out because surrounded link

yang kanilan ama.
rel to-them father

BU$_6$: Sequence Sentence Nginyang yadatung yang magayaw
at-that arrived rel invaders

asang said nang ama nilan, pyanagtokay yang matdung na si Boro
at-the near rel father they, pushed-up rel old-man rel "

pyanagbaroy sang arag, kayan linibad yang mangayaw.
freed rel fence then distracted rel invaders

BU$_n$: Simple Sentence Yapagsarod da silan sang mangayaw
fighting they rel invaders,

durug yand kadaygan yagadara sang matadung kay marutuy da.
while·rel others carried rel old-man because weak.

TERM : Paraphrase Sentence Yang matadung dili garo
rel old-man not frustration

mapanaw kay mapagtanam, yagisug da.
will-go because will fight bold-already.

'Having stood up, they jumped down together (from the house), since the invaders had already fired their guns. Then Boro jumped out. When he jumped out, he got caught on the fence at the side of the house. Then the invaders surrounded him. Then the strong men, Adon, Magandan, Komanyan also jumped out, because their father was already surrounded. At the time when the invaders arrived near their father, they pushed the old man, Boro, up off the fence, freed him, then distracted the invaders from him. They were fighting the invaders, while others carried the old man away because he was weak already. The old man didn't want to go because he wanted to fight, he was already emboldened.

EXAMPLE 17

1.1.2 Lexical form of the linkage.

Granted that the Time Margins of an ensuing sentence may function as a narrative link in reference to the preceding sentence, it is evident that the lexical relation of the Time Margin to the relevant part of the preceding sentence may vary considerably. Thus, Doris Porter writes as follows regarding Tagabili: "When Relator-Axis Sentences or Gerundatives expound the Temporal Margin the link between the Figure of sentence$_1$ and the Ground of sentence$_2$ may be expressed in one of three ways: The verb of the Figure in sentence$_1$ may be repeated, reciprocal, or show continuance in the verb of the Ground in sentence$_2$. Repetition is the most common form of linkage."

Taking repetition, reciprocity, and continuance as three relations commonly holding between sentence$_1$ and related material in the Time Margin of sentence$_2$, we note that the three are well exemplified in the structures cited in English translation as examples above. Thus, in Example 2 (Itneg) repetition is exemplified both between BU$_2$ and BU$_3$ and also between BU$_3$ and BU$_n$: 'he chopped the trees'...'when he had chopped them': 'he shaped them'...'when he had shaped them'. Lexical reciprocity between the Figure of one sentence and the Ground of the following sentence is illustrated in Example 13: 'the mayor requested him to come'...'(when) the boy arrived'. Notice also the use of the verbs 'say' and 'hear' in the following portion of a paragraph from Maranao:

"Yosup", Para. 12

Ground	Figure
	They said, "Why not let us be the ones to build it so that it will be finished quickly?"
When the carpenters heard this	they laughed at the boys.

EXAMPLE 18

Lexical continuance between the Figure of one sentence and the preposed Ground of the following sentence is exemplified in the use of a pair of verbs such as 'go' and 'arrive' where the second verb continues and completes the action of the first. This is illustrated in the same Itneg paragraph (Example 2) which was cited in referring to repetition; the BU$_1$ of this paragraph has 'He went' and the BU$_2$ has 'When he arrived in the forest...'

In the joint paper of Myra Lou Barnard and myself at the end of this volume there is a systematic attempt to account for these varying relations of the Figure of one sentence to the Ground (Time Margin) of the following sentence. The lexical unity of the Figure of the one sentence and the Ground of the next is recognized by positing that the two constitute a lexical sentence which straddles the boundary of a grammatical sentence. Within such lexical sentences (and within those whose boundaries correlate with the boundaries of a grammatical sentence) various relations hold. A beginning attempt is made to classify and describe these relations.

It is evident that there may be more EVENTS in the reported EVENT sequence than BUILD-UP tagmemes in the GRAMMATICAL PARAGRAPH. In a given BU expounded by a grammatical sentence several EVENTS may be encoded together; it is within the options of the speaker to group several EVENTS together in this fashion if he chooses. Thus, in the following paragraph from Maranao, BU_6 reports three EVENTS. BU_{1-6} report the EVENTS: 1. 'They went to Agamaniog...when they arrived there.' 2. 'They changed themselves to small boys.' 3. 'They went straight to the men who were constructing the carriage.' 4. 'They said: "Let us build it..." when the carpenters heard...' 5. 'They laughed at the boys.' 6. 'The boys became angry.' 7. 'They picked up the tools.' 8. 'They worked on the carriage.' 9. 'It did not take them 5 hours to finish it.' Notice that the EVENTS encode into numbered lexical sentences which sometimes refer twice to the same EVENT. The EVENTS also encode into grammatical sentences which do not here refer twice to the same EVENT but which may group several EVENTS into one G-sentence (and split the dual reference to one EVENT among two G-sentences). Possibly in the above array, the last two G-sentences should be grouped as one L-sentence on the grounds that 'finish' typically follows some previous verb (here 'work') in the same L-sentence.

In the following example, the grammatical sentences of this Maranao paragraph are presented in the rows as exponents of BU tagmemes; the lexical sentences are bracketed and numbered along the left hand margins:

"Yosup", Para. 12

Ground	Figure	
	After that they went straight to Agamaniog	BU_1
When they arrived there	2[they changed themselves to small boys.	BU_2
	3[They went straight to the men who were constructing the carriage.	BU_3
	They said: "Let us build it so we can finish it quickly."	BU_4
When the carpenters heard this	5[they laughed at the boys.	BU_5
	6[The boys became angry]7[they picked up the tools and 8[worked on the carriage	BU_6
	9[It did not take them five hours to finish it.	BU_7

EXAMPLE 19

A NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH may, however, encode within the Time Margins of one or more sentences EVENTS not referred to in the Figures of the preceding sentences. Consider the following[3] paragraph from Koronadal Bilaan:

"Dulan", Para. 16-17

Ground	Figure	
When the Muslims had removed the intestines	they gathered them together while the sun was beating down.	BU_1
And when they looked	they saw that near the stomach was something that looked like the fruit of a coconut, near the carabao's stomach.	BU_2
And when they split the round thing	the inside was like pounded corn, already dry, and there was no place for its food to pass through.	BU_3

EXAMPLE 20

In this Bilaan paragraph the preposed Grounds in BU_2 and BU_3 occur exactly as expected in regular narrative linkage--except that the preceding Figure does not relate directly. The EVENT sequence has been abbreviated and certain EVENTS have not been reported in the Figures of the component sentences. Thus, we would expect between BU_1 and BU_2 such a sentence as: 'And when they had gathered the intestines together, they looked at them'. Similarly we would expect between BU_2 and BU_3 such a sentence as: 'And when they found this round thing they split it open'. In this situation the preposed Grounds do not group with previous Figures to form L-sentences. Rather, the L-sentences of this paragraph are: (1) 'The Muslims removed the intestines' (2) 'They gathered them together while the sun was beating down.' (3) 'They looked at them.' (4) 'They saw that near the stomach was something...' (5) 'They split the round thing' (6) 'The inside was like pounded corn already dry;' (7) 'There was no place for its food to pass through.'

---

[3] Abrams assigns the first of the following three sentences to the preceding paragraph. Since, however, the linkage devices here described also carry over (but with less regularity) between paragraphs, our argument above is not impaired by the differing placement of the paragraph boundary.

1.1.3 Speech EVENTS reported in BUILD-UP tagmemes.

It is important to note that while speech EVENTS may be reported in the BU's of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, such a paragraph remains a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH and is not a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH in that (1) DIALOGUE versus NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH is not a matter of presence versus absence of speech as such; but rather (2) in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS what one speaker says evokes what the following speaker says with focus on the dynamics of interchange, while in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS speech EVENTS are simply part of the chain of EVENTS. In summary, in a true DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH the focus is on repartée, while in a true NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH the focus is on the chain of EVENTS (which may be non-verbal or verbal).

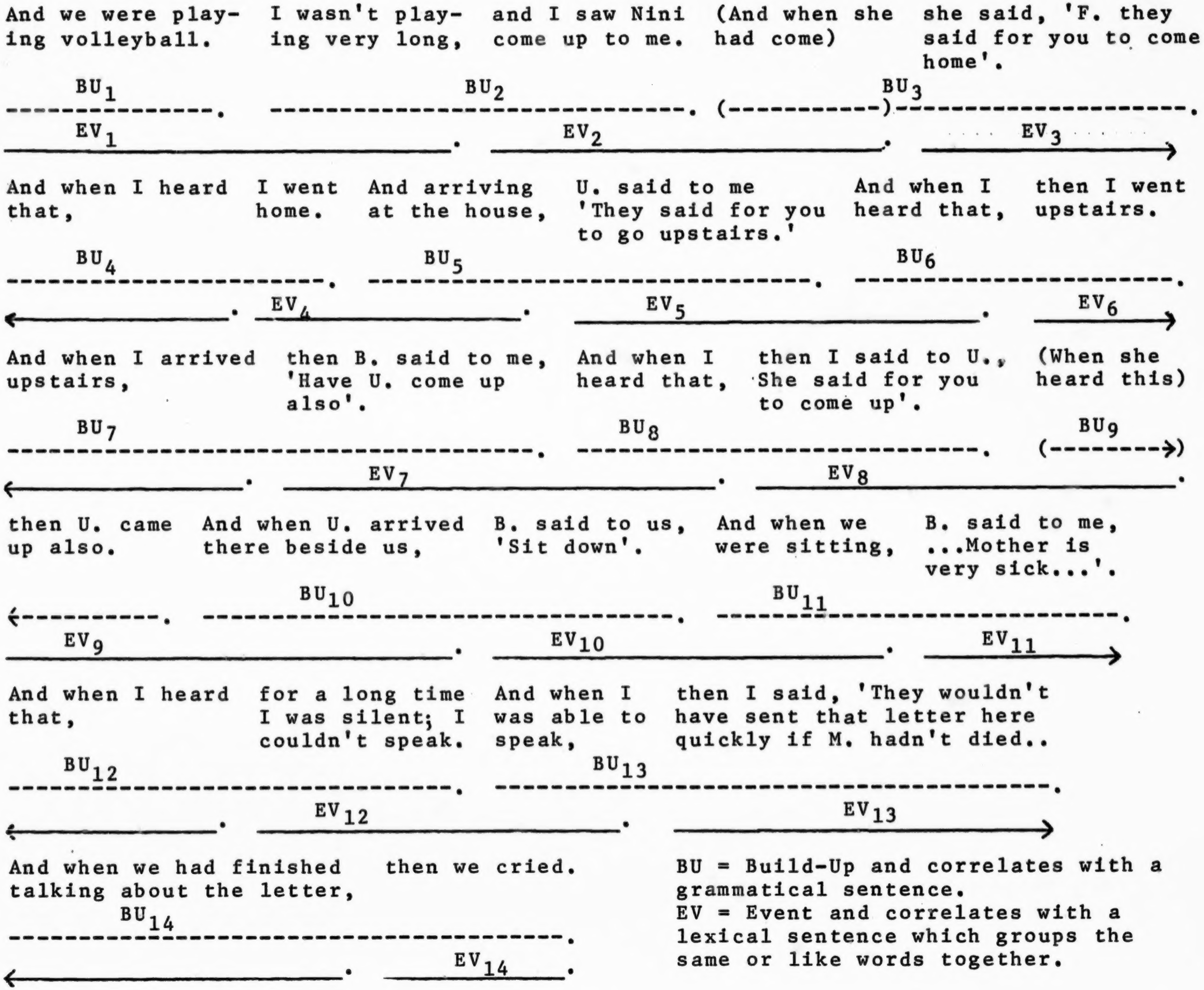
To illustrate a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH which reports many speech EVENTS I submit the following Sarangani Bilaan paragraph. In BU_3 and BU_9 a link has been supplied. Note that while several bits of speech are reported there are no verbal responses--although several non-verbal responses are reported. Probably a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH should not be set up unless it includes some verbal responses (although it may include reporting of non-verbal responses). The speech reported in this paragraph is usually referred to in the Ground of the following sentence by means of a lexical reciprocal: 'And when I heard that...' (BU_4, BU_6, BU_8, BU_{12}). After the reported speech in BU_{10} ('Barb said to us "Sit down"'), the Ground in BU_{11} simply says 'and when we were sitting'.

This Bilaan paragraph is an excellent example of the way in which a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH is knit together by narrative linkage. The device essentially consists in letting grammatical sentences and lexical sentences consistently run askew of each other until the effect is one of shingling one type of sentence over the other. This is seen in the accompanying diagram of the same paragraph.

Sarangani Bilaan Text 1

Ground	Figure	
And then it was afternoon now		SETT
	And we were playing volleyball	BU$_1$
And I wasn't (playing) very long	and I saw Nini come up to me	BU$_2$
(And when she had come)	she said, "Father, they said for you to come home."	BU$_3$
And when I heard that	I went home.	BU$_4$
And arriving at the house	Uyen said to me, "They said for you to go upstairs."	BU$_5$
And when I heard that	then I went upstairs.	BU$_6$
And when I arrived upstairs	then Barb said to me "Have Uyen come up also."	BU$_7$
And when I heard that	then I said to Uyen, "She said for you to come up."	BU$_8$
(When she heard this)	then Uyen came up also.	BU$_9$
And when Uyen arrived beside us	Barb said to us, "Sit down."	BU$_{10}$
And when we were sitting	Barb said to me, she said, "A letter has just arrived...big mother is very sick...you are to go home, it says."	BU$_{11}$
And when I heard that	first I was just silent. For a long time I didn't speak.	BU$_{12}$
And when I was able to talk	then I said, "They wouldn't send that letter here quickly if mother hadn't died, but she is already dead."	BU$_{13}$
And when we had finished talking about the letter	then we cried.	BU$_{14}$
And I said, "Oh, it is really so that mother has already died."		TERM

EXAMPLE 21



And we were playing volleyball.
I wasn't playing very long,
and I saw Nini come up to me.
(And when she had come)
she said, 'F. they said for you to come home'.

And when I heard that,
I went home.
And arriving at the house,
U. said to me 'They said for you to go upstairs.'
And when I heard that,
then I went upstairs.

And when I arrived upstairs,
then B. said to me, 'Have U. come up also'.
And when I heard that,
then I said to U., She said for you to come up'.
(When she heard this)

then U. came up also.
And when U. arrived there beside us,
B. said to us, 'Sit down'.
And when we were sitting,
B. said to me, ...Mother is very sick...'.

And when I heard that,
for a long time I was silent; I couldn't speak.
And when I was able to speak,
then I said, 'They wouldn't have sent that letter here quickly if M. hadn't died..

And when we had finished talking about the letter,
then we cried.

BU$_1$
BU$_2$
BU$_3$
EV$_1$
EV$_2$
EV$_3$
BU$_4$
BU$_5$
BU$_6$
EV$_4$
EV$_5$
EV$_6$
BU$_7$
BU$_8$
BU$_9$
EV$_7$
EV$_8$
BU$_{10}$
BU$_{11}$
EV$_9$
EV$_{10}$
EV$_{11}$
BU$_{12}$
BU$_{13}$
EV$_{12}$
EV$_{13}$
BU$_{14}$
EV$_{14}$

BU = Build-Up and correlates with a grammatical sentence.
EV = Event and correlates with a lexical sentence which groups the same or like words together.

DIAGRAM 1

1.1.4 SPEECH tagmemes in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS.

In Bontoc and Itneg, however, Lawrence Reid and Charles Walton have posited SPEECH tagmemes as integral parts of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. I quote here at length from Reid:

> "SPEECH tagmeme is not considered to be a BU because of its unique exponents and position in the tagmeme string. A SPEECH tagmeme presents a PROPOSAL, whose non-verbal RESPONSE forms the first BU of the paragraph. The SPEECH tagmeme is characteristic of a well-formed NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH in Bontoc, although it is not obligatory. In Text MF, out of eight NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS, seven contain a SPEECH tagmeme before the first BU.
>
> "Linkage between a SPEECH tagmeme and the following tagmemes consists of the lexical association between a PROPOSAL and a RESPONSE.
>
> "Sometimes the activity which is the complete RESPONSE of the SPEECH PROPOSAL is contained in the immediately following BU. Such a BU could be the final BU (BU_n) of the paragraph (see Fig. 13 [our Example 22]) or it could be followed by one or more BU's which relate activities which follow the RESPONSES to the SPEECH PROPOSAL. On the other hand the full RESPONSE to the SPEECH tagmeme may require several BU's each presenting partial RESPONSES (see Fig. 14 [our Example 23]) or even describing activity which follows the PROPOSAL in time but is preliminary to the RESPONSE activity (see Fig. 15 [our Example 24])."

Walton similarly posits in Itneg a SPEECH tagmeme which is initial within the nucleus of the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. He also posits a further SPEECH tagmeme which is in the postposed periphery of the paragraph preceding TERMINUS proper: "Two SPEECH tagmemes occur in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS, SP_1 and SP_0. SP_1 can occur at the beginning of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH and links to the initial BU. It is lexically a PROPOSAL, of which the successive BU's might be regarded as a RESPONSE. Because SP_1 is linked to the first BU it is considered a nuclear tagmeme. SP_0 can occur following BU_n in a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. It is lexically a remark. Although it has no overt linkage with the previous tagmeme or with the following paragraph it is related to the paragraph as a whole. Because of this lack of linkage it is regarded as a peripheral tagmeme. Two of Walton's examples of paragraphs involving SP_1 and SP_0 follow as Examples 25 and 26.

"The Mainit Feast" Para. 15

Figure	
He also said, "Come and let's eat. That's plenty of meat for us."	SP
They ate.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 22

"The Mainit Feast" Para. 12

Ground	Figure	
	Once again the man said, "You go and just steal away some of the sugarcane wine. This meat, there is a great lot of it here! Shucks, we haven't had a drink of sugarcane wine!"	SP
	Again it is told, this rat went he filled a pitcher plant with sugarcane wine, the wine jar was placed under the eaves.	BU$_1$
Having filled two very big pitcher plants, ↙	he was bent over with them and he took them to the man and he drank it.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 23

"The Mainit Feast" Para. 6

Ground	Figure	
Having gone to Lobbangan	the rat said, "You hide in this cave, there is something that I will be getting and bringing. You be the one to guard."	SP
	This rat truly entered the village of Mainit at night, because the feasters, let me explain, they sleep, those who guard the cooking meat.	BU$_1$
(Having entered the village) ↙	The rat uncovered the vat filled with meat and dragged out two slices of meat.	BU$_2$
(Having gotten the meat) ↙	He ran away with it, he made his way through the sugarcane field, and took it to Lobbangan, to the man.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 24

"Beginning of the World", Para. 3

Ground	Figure	
"Oh, let's go crack the broken stone from the edge of the quarry because that will be our tool for making a clearing."		SP_1
	They went to crack stone from the quarry and the wide stone they made into a bolo.	BU_1
	They chipped it and then they sharpened it.	BU_n
This was their tool for clearing, it was only stone.		TERM

EXAMPLE 25

"Bakid", Para. 5

Ground	Figure	
When he was in the forest	he shaped the wood again, he finished the posts.	BU_1
When he had finished the posts it was afternoon	he went home again.	BU_2
When he was in their house	his wife arrived.	BU_n
"There is still much work so I'll go again tomorrow."		SP_0

EXAMPLE 26

Probably this feature is not limited to Bontoc and Itneg. Consider the following translation of a Sarangani Bilaan NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH where Blackburn and McLachlin consider the first sentence to expound SETTING but which fits perfectly the specifications for a SPEECH tagmeme initial in the paragraph nucleus:

"Marriage of Ginong and Nini", Para. 7

Now one day they informed us and said: We are ready now and this is the day we are coming to your house."	SETT.
And after that father went downstream and told grandmother Carmen then at the beach that they are ready and the day they are coming to the house.	BU_1
And after he had let Grandmother Carmen know, then he stopped by Pangi, because he let Uncle Nuwil and family know and also Grandmother too.	BU_2
After that everyone knew.	BU_n

EXAMPLE 27

1.1.5 BU tagmemes and the lexical climax.

With the exception, therefore, of the SPEECH tagmeme in Bontoc and Itneg, NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS are considered to consist of a series of BU tagmemes. They are numbered consecutively up to the last BU which is the BU_n. The BU_n is usually the lexical climax of the EVENT chain when such a climax can be detected. Very rarely, it may prove not to be the lexical climax but post-climactic. In the latter case the lexicon and grammar can be considered to be askew.

Thelma Svelmoe, for Mansaka, posits a STEP-DOWN tagmeme which follows the BU_n. This sort of analysis can be resorted to whenever a BU_n would otherwise be post-climactic; the post-climactic BU_n is simply labelled a STEP-DOWN and the previous BU is considered to be the BU_n. Note Example 28 which is adapted from Thelma Svelmoe's materials:

Ground *Figure*

From Thelma Svelmoe's materials:

The monkey having awakened	it was morning already.	BU_1
	He again got his *bolo* and sharpened it and got his container and hung it on his shoulder and went away.	BU_2
On arriving at the foot of the palm tree	he climbed up and poured out the wine.	BU_n
Then	he cut off the shoot and put in the bark, then descended.	SD

EXAMPLE 28

Several things are of interest in the above Mansaka example: (1) In terms of the story, grammatical sentence 3 is climactic and sentence 4 is post-climactic. Thelma Svelmoe, therefore, considers that the former expounds BU_n and the latter expounds STEP-DOWN. (2) In BU_1 occurs another case in Mansaka of *Ground-Figure* inversion (cf. Example 17). We would expect 'it was morning' to be in the *Ground* and 'the monkey having awakened' (recast as 'the monkey awoke') to occur in the *Figure*, which would then encode the first EVENT. But, contrary to this expectation, 'having awakened' is a *pagka-* Gerundative form, and is clearly the *Temporal Margin* of the sentence. (3) BU_2, BU_n, and SD all encode more than one EVENT (cf. the discussion at the end of 1.1.2). (4) The word 'then' (*kayan*) is a very good example here of a conjunction used as a *pro-margin*.

1.2 Peripheral tagmemes of the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH.

In contrast to the tagmemes of the nucleus of the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH--which are systematically chained together the tagmemes of the paragraph periphery do not chain directly to contiguous sentences but relate to the nucleus as a whole.

1.2.1 SETTING tagmeme.

SETTING tagmeme is an optional element which occurs paragraph initial. While it may express time orientation and locale, it most frequently expresses such matters as dramatis personae, circumstances, and preview of activity.

Thus, in the Sarangani Bilaan text, "The Marriage of Ginong and Nini", Paragraph 9 begins with a SETTING tagmeme expounded by the sentence: 'Now when all of them had gathered together there they began the discussion.' Having thus provided the circumstances along with some indication of the ensuing activity, the paragraph proceeds with three BU's which give some idea of the nature and progress of the discussion concerning the bride price of the girl Nini.

In the Maranao text, "Diwata Kasarip" instances occur of rather long sentences expounding SETTING. Thus one paragraph (1.35) begins: 'When Nabi Bakarmana and the Lady of Sinira'aman arrived, the thought that came to the Lady of Sinira'aman's mind was the fear that her young sons might quarrel over the picture because there was none as beautiful as she, which was why the couple hid it (the picture).' In this SETTING the main dramatis personae are all very explicitly mentioned with attendant circumstances and some preview of what is to follow in the balance of the paragraph. In the balance of the paragraph we are told that they found their sons arguing over who should marry the beautiful woman in the picture and the father decided that Diwata Kasarip, the eldest son, should be the one to marry her.

Paragraph 1:26 of the same text has a SETTING of similar length and complexity: 'When she arrived at Langit their festivities were underway for this was the marriage celebration of Radia Mangaworna to the daughter of the Sultan of Langit, Princess Inigambar Olan.' Again, new dramatis personae are explicitly introduced and circumstances explained. The action follows in BU_1 and BU_n: 'When Princess Gonong Gibon [referred to as 'she' in the SETTING] reached Langit she shouted and it sounded as though Langit was hit by seven thunders (BU_1). She jumped and stamped her foot and Langit toppled' (BU_n).

A passage from Ata Manobo ("Minuna", Para. 9) illustrates SETTING expounded by a much shorter sentence: 'There was a mortar in the middle of the floor'. The mortar, thus introduced, figures in the following action: 'They threw the mortar to the ground' (BU_1). 'The evil spirits said, "They've run", but the bachelors were still on the floor' (BU_2). 'The evil spirits jumped down to chase the mortar...(BU_n)'.

Thelma Svelmoe reports that in Mansaka, SETTING occurs only in the discourse initial paragraph. In this case it seems possible that the 'SETTING' is really discourse APERTURE and should be disassociated from the paragraph where it is assumed to occur.

1.2.2 TERMINUS tagmeme.

TERMINUS tagmeme likewise relates to the nucleus as a whole rather than specifically to the last sentence that precedes it. The TERMINUS expresses a closing comment, result, explanation, shift of locale, or further passage of time after the action of the paragraph nucleus. The latter two factors are illustrated in the following example translated from Ata Manobo:

"Minuna", Para. 11[4]

They reached the mortar because the evil spirits said: "They fooled us; they're returning home."	BU_1
They chased the two bachelors.	BU_2
The evil spirits grabbed the horses' legs because these horses were very swift.	BU_n
It was the next day when they reached their home.	TERM

EXAMPLE 29

In the following Ilianen Manobo paragraph the TERMINUS expresses explanation:

"Ukap", Para. 28

Then, Ukap, when it is dark you investigate your trap.	BU_n[5]
That which you investigate, Ukap, is all of the traps which have been taken out of the water to find something to take home with you.	TERM

EXAMPLE 30

Result (or the upshot of the situation) is expressed in the TERMINUS of another Ilianen Manobo paragraph from the same text. The hero, dumped into the middle of a lake by the strategy of his datu finds a tree growing near him and climbs it.

---

[4] In most of the remaining examples in Sec. 1 we present the examples without Ground-Figure distinction.

[5] Ukap here is addressed in second person by narrator; cf. Discourse Genre 1.2.

"Ukap", Para. 46

And climbing, Ukap, you arrived, Ukap, there at the top of the tree and what you do is to sit down.	BU_1
Ukap said, "Now indeed, it is not possible that I don't take thought, because I will die..."	BU_n
That which you do from night to day is clap your hands [in frustration].	TERM

EXAMPLE 31

Similarly, the TERMINUS of the following Maranao paragraph expresses result:

"Red Star over Islam", Para. 24

The day came when I could not endure this.	SETT
I gathered my belongings	BU_1
I went for several days and nights always turning back because I was afraid that I was followed by the secret police.	BU_2
When I reached the Oxus River, which is the boundary of Afghanistan, I made a raft out of tree branches and crossed over.	BU_n
I was forever free from fear of the Communists.	TERM

EXAMPLE 32

Final comment (similar to result but affording something of summary as well) is illustrated by the following paragraph translated from Tagabili:

"Bat Cave", Supp. Para. Ex. 1

He continued going until he saw a ray of light.	BU_1
And then he drew out his knife and twisted it around in the place where the ray of light was and the sky was revealed.	BU_2
He continued twisting the knife until the hole was big and then he climbed out and then he was at Sabu.	BU_n
And he was the only one of those men who escaped but the rest of the men were swallowed by the pythons or bitten by the snakes.	TERM

EXAMPLE 33

Another Maranao example also illustrates the same summary/ result nature of TERMINAL tagmemes:

"Diwata Kasarip" 3:43

After it took off it had not flown far when it saw Gambar Balan and Diwata Kasarip running very fast.	BU_1
It shouted to them and said: "You are wasting your time, gentleman and lady, for I am going to eat you."	BU_n
The distance between them diminished like water being drunk.	TERM

EXAMPLE 34

In several paragraphs in the same Maranao text as that from which the above example is taken, final sentences are labelled TERMINAL that: (1) follow reported speech (analyzed as BU_n); and (2) involve some sort of non-verbal response to the speech or the carrying out of some activity foreshadowed in the speech. Even the example in the above paragraph is not dissimilar in that the monster threatens in the BU_n to catch them and eat them (although the threat of overtaking them is implicit rather than explicit) while in the TERM we are told that he was effectively overtaking them. Other examples follow (the first is full; for the others I give only BU_n and TERM):

"Diwata Kasarip" 4:11

Soon they reached Mt. Napampangan.	BU_1
They sat down on some logs.	BU_2
After they had sat and rested on the logs for a long time, they heard the buzz of many people.	BU_3
When Diwata Kasarip heard this, he said: "Wait here for me while I visit that crowd of people."	BU_n
He went to the place from which they had heard the noise.	TERM

EXAMPLE 35

"Diwata Kasarip" 5:11

When she had finished writing the letter she rolled the letter up and tied it to the foot of the bird and said to the bird: "I command you to go to Inigambar."	BU_n
The bird flew to Antor of Langit [where Inigambar lived].	TERM

EXAMPLE 36

"Diwata Kasarip" 6:23:1

When she saw that there was no place through which the child could get out, she said to her maids: "Watch my child for I am going to the mosque to pray."	BU_n
She then went to the mosque.	TERM

EXAMPLE 37

"Diwata Kasarip" 6:25

When Princess Gonong Gibon heard this she got angry and said: "Because my brother attacked me without cause and without even questioning me I too will attack him."	BU_n
She got her sword and went.	TERM

EXAMPLE 38

The above Maranao examples do not fit well the typical picture of TERMINAL tagmeme in that the sentence which expounds the so-called TERMINAL specifically relates to all or part of the preceding sentence (which expounds the so-called BU_n). The two successive sentences really stand related as PLAN and EXECUTION. Thus in "Diwata Kasarip" 4:11 'He said: "Wait for me while I visit that crowd of people"' corresponds to 'He went to that place from which they heard the noise.' In "Diwata Kasarip" 5:11'... she said: "I command you to go to Inigambar"' is followed by 'The bird flew to Antor of Langit.' In "Diwata Kasarip" 6:25 '...she said, "I will attack him"' is followed by 'She got her sword and went'. In "Diwata Kasarip" 6:23:1 'she said to her maids, "Watch my child for I am going to the mosque to pray"' is followed by 'She then went to the mosque.'

We probably have here examples of a further type of paragraph similar in some respects to a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, and in some respects to a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. In place of the $+BU_n \pm$TERM structure of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH it has a +PLAN+EXECUTION structure with certain lexical specifications between the two.

1.2.3 Preterminal SPEECH tagmeme.

Walton posits for Itneg a SPEECH tagmeme (SP_0) which may follow the BU_n. This has been presented and illustrated in 1.1.4 above.

1.3 COMPOUND NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS.

COMPOUND NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS contain more than one BU_n, i.e. they have two PEAKS. Nevertheless, there are unifying features--often a common SETTING and/or TERMINAL--which make it feasible to consider the whole to be one unit. Sometimes there are consecutive time horizons within such a COMPOUND NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH.

While there is reason to believe that such paragraphs are widespread (although statistically rare in text) only in Botolan Sambal are they reported (Harriet Minot) "A NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH may be compound by having two SETTING tagmemes each with one or more BU's all closed by a common TERMINUS." She cites the following example:

"Wishing Ring", Para. 6

When he arrived at their home, he tested (to see) if it were true that what he wished for from the ring would appear.	SETT
When night came, he wished that he would be given a large house complete inside with everything he needed.	BU_n
Next morning, they were surprised.	SETT
When they awoke there was a very large and beautiful house there in their yard.	BU_n
They became rich.	TERM

EXAMPLE 39

Notice that sentence 1 anticipates the action of sentence 2 in a manner that makes the former appear to be a typical SETTING tagmeme. Likewise, SETTING 3 anticipates sentence 4 and thus qualifies to be considered another SETTING. Sentences 2 and 4 encode the actual EVENTS. The fifth sentence expresses the result in reference to all that precedes it in the paragraph. The two coordinate parts of such a COMPOUND PARAGRAPH are exponents of higher-layered tagmemes which could be labelled: ACTION $COMPLEX_1$ and ACTION $COMPLEX_2$. Furthermore, the two parts of the paragraph have differing time horizons: (1) Arriving at the house on or near nightfall; (2) the next morning.

Abrams does not posit COMPOUND NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS in K. Bilaan but the following paragraph (which he analyzes as a string of five BU's) seems to me to break apart into two subparagraphs in the way characteristic of COMPOUND NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS:

"Dulan", Para. 2

When I plowed, I had been plowing for two days without any problems with my carabao.	ACT.COMPL$_1$:NARR P BU$_1$
Not having had problems I didn't think my carabao was sick.	BU$_n$
But on the third day of plowing...afternoon, I first pastured my carabao, it was already about dark, so I took him to water.	ACT.COMP$_2$:NARR P BU$_1$
Having come from watering him, I tied him close to my house on the mountain.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 40

Again two time horizons are indicated: (1) a period of two days; (2) the third day.

In her analysis of the Ata Manobo text entitled "Minuna", Shirley Abbott posits a COORDINATE PARAGRAPH. Part of this paragraph has been given before, but it follows in full:

"Minuna", Para. 9

There was a mortar in the center of the floor	SETT
They threw the mortar to the ground.	ACT.COMP$_1$:NARR P BU$_1$
The evil spirits said: "They've run", but the two bachelors were still on the floor.	BU$_2$
The evil spirits jumped down to chase the mortar	BU$_n$
The two bachelors climbed down out of the house.	ACT.COMP$_2$:NARR P BU$_1$
They snapped the horses' ties.	BU$_2$
They rode because the horses were very fast.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 41

Here there is no obvious feature unifying the whole putative COMPOUND PARAGRAPH; it shows rather the essential ambiguity of coordinate structures on many levels, i.e. they can be considered to be one coordinate structure or only two simple structures, according to the relative weighting of various lexical factors.

1.4 Embedding in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS.

Much more easy to document than coordination in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH is embedding.

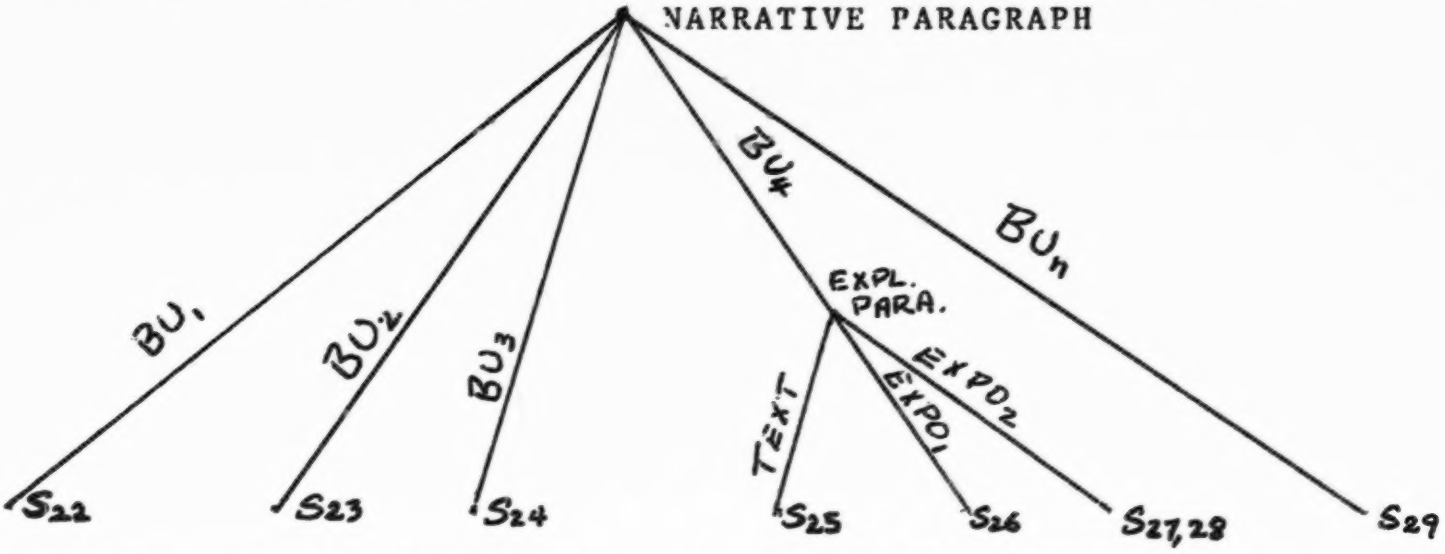
Frequently a BU tagmeme is expounded not by a single sentence but by an embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. Thus, in the K. Bilaan paragraph that follows, BU$_1$, BU$_2$, BU$_3$, and BU$_n$ are all expounded by sentences, but BU$_4$ is expounded by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH:

"Dulan", Para. 7

And after having fallen asleep, I woke up, and I got up.	BU$_1$
And I peered out the doorway and I heard a sound like a man moaning.	BU$_2$
As I listened carefully, "Oh", I said, "That is the carabao."	BU$_3$
The thought in my mind was, that he was really tired from plowing, and that was why he was gasping. I never thought that it might be sick, and I never thought that it might be bitten by a snake. What I thought was, that he was tired from pulling the plow, because the plow went so deep that the overturned soil was as wide as a mat in the wake of the plow along the edge of my farm where I was plowing.	BU$_4$
So I went back to bed and wrapped up in my blanket and got under the mosquito net.	BU$_n$

EXAMPLE 42

The internal structure of the embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH is not relevant here as such; it consists of three sentences which expound the TEXT tagmeme and two following EXPOSITION tagmemes. Note the following tree graph of this paragraph:



Tree graph of embedding of EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH within NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH (K. Bilaan, "Dulan", Para.7)

DIAGRAM 2

The Ata Manobo paragraph mentioned at the beginning of Section 1.2.1 has a BU_n expounded by a short EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH consisting of TEXT and REASON. We give here the whole paragraph:

"Minuna", Para. 9

There was a mortar in the middle of the floor.	SETT
They threw the mortar to the ground.	BU_1
The evil spirits said: "They have run!", but the two bachelors were still on the floor.	BU_2
The evil spirits jumped down to chase the mortar. They thought it was a person.	BU_n:EX PARA

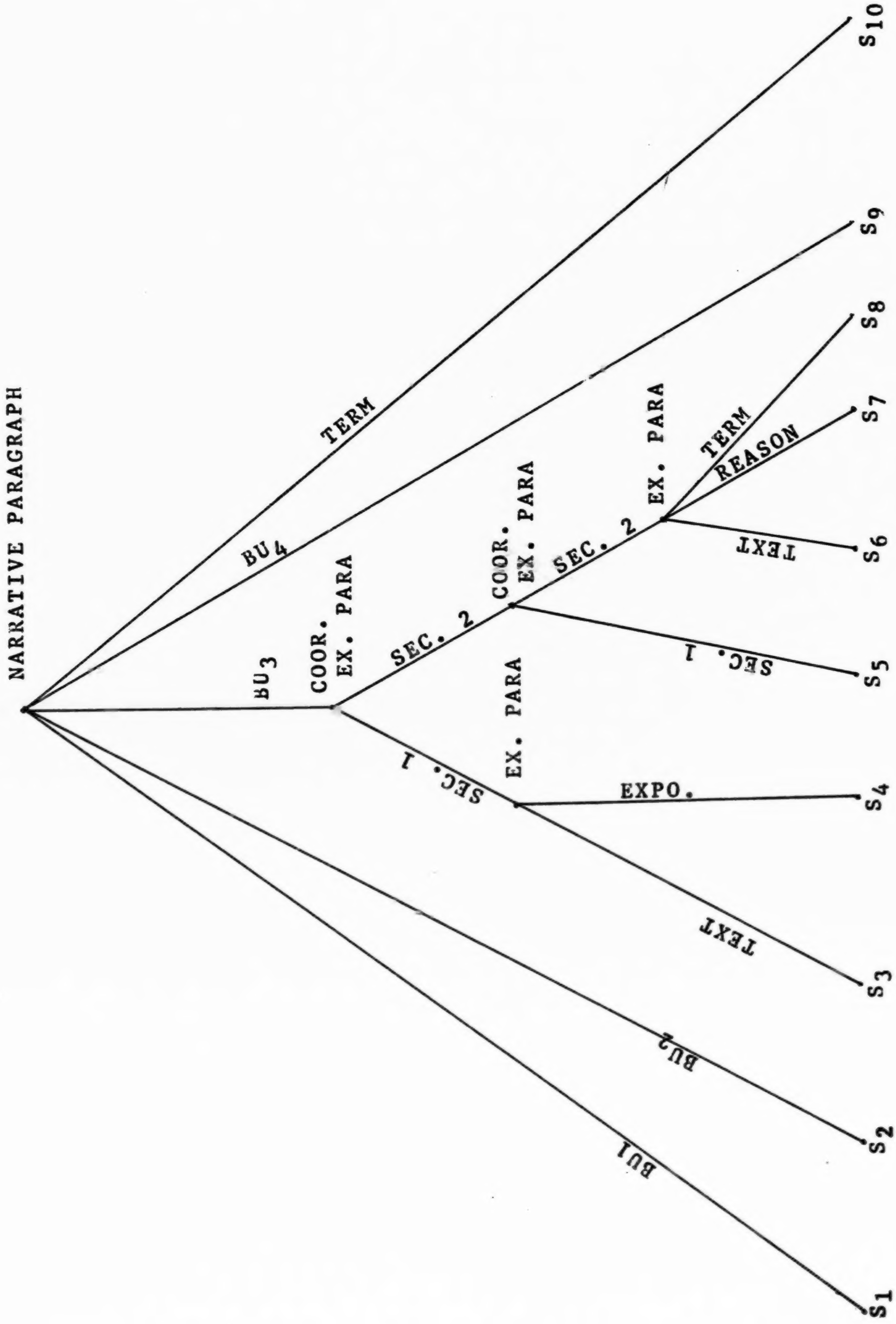
EXAMPLE 43

Sarangani Bilaan affords an example of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH with four BU's the third of which is expounded by a COORDINATE EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH which in turn consists of several layerings of EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. The paragraph follows in Ground-Figure and tree diagrams:

"The Marriage of Ginong and Nini", Para. 10

	Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
S$_1$		Now while they were talking, the girls were getting food ready.		BU$_1$
S$_2$	Now when they had finished talking and the food was ready	they put (it) on the table.		BU$_2$
S$_3$	(And after that)	then they ate.		BU$_3$:COORD. EX. PARA SEC.1:EX. PARA TEXT
S$_4$		Now the same as when talking... those who eat first are all my family	because that's our custom.	EXPO
S$_5$		And they (other) brought yellow rice and their viands were all pork.		SEC.2:CO.EX. PARA SEC.1:Sent
S$_6$		Now the rice they brought that wasn't eaten we threw out,	because the people can not consume it.	SEC.2:EX.PARA TEXT
S$_7$		That which is consumed is the viand.		REASON
S$_8$		Now my relative brought rice, viands also.		TERM
S$_9$	Now after the people ate	the parents of Ginong went home and also the other people too.		BU$_n$
S$_{10}$	They all agreed that the wedding should be the first week of January.			TERM

EXAMPLE 44


NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH
TERM
BU4
BU3
COOR. EX. PARA
SEC. 2
COOR. EX. PARA
SEC. 2
EX. PARA
TERM
REASON
TEXT
SEC. 1
EX. PARA
SEC. 1
EXPO.
TEXT
BU2
BU1
S10
S9
S8
S7
S6
S5
S4
S3
S2
S1

Tree Graph of S. Bilaan NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH
"Marriage of Ginong and Nini", Para. 10

DIAGRAM 3

2 PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS.

PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS differ in several ways from NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS: (1) PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS, like *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES*, are in projected time rather than in the accomplished time which is characteristic of NARRATIVE. This inevitably affects the linkage mechanisms of the two types resulting in differing specifications which must be stated for each given language. (2) Furthermore, in most languages the linkage between sentences in the nuclei of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS is more consistent and overt than within the nuclei of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. Thus Lawrence Reid says for Bontoc: "It was noted above that lexical chaining within NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS is mainly implicit...In a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH, however, lexical chaining is explicit, providing the chronological sequence necessary to establish *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE*." Note accompanying example (Reid's diagram 19 of a one-paragraph PROCEDURE TEXT on weaving fishtraps).

Charles Walton similarly says for Itneg: "PROCEDURE PARAGRAPH has a STEP tagmeme which differs from BU tagmeme of the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH in that it has consistent linkage."

Similarly, Blackburn and McLachlin state for Sarangani Bilaan: "In a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH a *Temporal Margin* is obligatory in STEP tagmeme. In a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH a *Temporal Margin* is optional in BU tagmemes, but may be supplied."

Claudia Whittle also notes regarding Atta Negrito: "A PROCEDURE PARAGRAPH is linked to the preceding paragraph by a preposed *Time Margin* taken from the *Figure* of the sentence manifesting the last tagmeme of the preceding paragraph. This margin is restricted to future tense. This same link occurs consistently throughout the paragraph as a link between recurring main tagmemes. Usually the content of the *Figure* of S_1 moves to the preposed *Ground* of S_2, but paragraph medial it may move to postposed *Ground*. This linkage differs from narrative linkage between BUILD-UP tagmemes in the restriction of tense."
(3) Taking STEP tagmemes of the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH as analogous to the BUILD-UP tagmemes of the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, certain further tagmemes, e.g. ALTERNATIVE STEP, and SIMULTANEOUS STEP are documented in several languages. In Sarangani Bilaan PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS an ACTIVITY tagmeme, unparalleled in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS, is also posited.
(4) The role of reported speech is nul or greatly reduced. Thus, embedded DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS do not occur in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS but may occur in NARRATIVE. The special SPEECH tagmemes set up in Bontoc and Itneg NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS have

"Weaving Fishtraps"

Ground	Figure	
If you want a fish trap,	we (2) go get anes bamboo at Maanes, then take it home and scrape it, then string them together, and dry them in the sun.	STEP 1
When you see it is dry,	you can begin to strip and clean bamboo for making the trap, but the first you strip and clean are the ribs.	STEP 2
When the ribs are finished,	you make a form from wood.	STEP 3
When the form is finished,	you weave a circlet which will be used to fasten the ribs.	STEP 4
(When the circlet is woven)	Put the ribs in place and fasten them, then make the bamboo strips fine, for the first weaving of its mouth.	STEP 5
When you see it is becoming wider,	make your strips bigger.	STEP 6
When you see it is sufficient to be shaped,	form the shape, widen the strips because it has become large.	STEP 7
When you see it is about to become smaller in diameter,	make the strips with a round section that you use to weave the trap.	STEP 8
	(Keep weaving) Until it is finished becoming narrower in diameter, then you cut it, that is remove the excess, then you make an ear which you will use for carrying when you take your trap.	STEP 9
	That is what is done to make traps until you have made 20 (but it will take many days to make them, you (understand) then they will be enough for you to go and trap mudfish.	STEP 10

EXAMPLE 45

no analogue in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS in these two languages. Similarly, for S. Bilaan where no such initial SPEECH tagmeme is posited in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS, Blackburn and McLachlin note that while the SETTING of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH may be expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence the SETTING of a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH is not so expounded. (5) Reid lists for Bontoc a further feature that is characteristic of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS as against NARRATIVE viz. the 'deletion of certain clause-level tagmemes'. I quote at length from Reid:

> "Deletion occurs when a tagmeme considered obligatory to the clause does not occur. Topic of Goal-oriented clauses expresses the Goal of the activity expressed in the Predicate. It is considered obligatory to the clause, but is deleted in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS if its lexical exponent has been stated in the immediately preceding sentence, or has been deleted from the immediately preceding sentence. Since a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH is usually oriented towards a single Goal, strings of sentences may occur in which the Topic is deleted. The Subject tagmeme of a Goal-oriented clause expresses Actor and is obligatory to the clause string. Since in PROCEDURE PARAGRAPHS the Actor is usually the same through the STEPS, the Subject tagmeme is not infrequently deleted. See Fig. 17 for an indication of the degree of deletion which may occur.
>
> Fig. 17
>
> | | Pred
(action) | Subject
(actor) | Topic
(goal) | Referent
(location) |
> |---|---|---|---|---|
> | 1. | day | we | red-rice | |
> | 2. | pound | we | ø | mortar |
> | (3. | winnowed | - | ø) | |
> | 4. | cook | ø | ø | pot |
> | 5. | serve | ø | ø | |
> | 6. | put | ø | ø | basket |
> | 7. | yeast | ø | ø | |
> | 8. | put | ø | ø | pot |
> | 9. | shelve | ø | ø | |
> | (10. | made | - | ø) | |
>
> "Here the first 10 clauses from the sentence nuclei of text MRW are displayed. Sentences 3 and 10, are both Goal-oriented as are the other clauses displayed, but have been transformed to Statives, a clause

> type which is obligatorily minus Subject (Actor) in Central Bontoc. The third person singular Topic pronoun is zero when following Stative verbs, and so it is not possible to prove that formal deletion has taken place; however, in effect the result is the same as deletion. Third person singular Topic pronoun when following Non-Stative Goal-oriented clauses is *siya*, unless deleted. Apparently, Stative transforms may occur only when a Referent is not present. It is interesting to note that the exponent of the deleted Topic in clause 10 is not the same as the exponent of the deleted Topic in clause 1. In fact, lexical items in the Topic of several clauses would be different from that in clause 1 if they were supplied (e.g. *binayo* 'pounded rice' in 3 and 4; *makan* 'cooked rice' in 5, 6, and 7; *naasinan ay makan* 'yeasted rice' in 8 and 9; *tapey* 'rice wine' in 10). Apparently *item* and *processed item* are considered equivalent for purposes of deletion."

Because of the variety of nuclear tagmemes suggested for PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS I do not offer here a general formula for this type. There is, however, some sort of SETTING and TERMINAL, as in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS; and STEP tagmemes which correspond broadly to the (nuclear) BU's of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS.

2.1 Nuclear linkage in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS.

Chronological sequence in projected time (admitting, however, a limited amount of alternative and simultaneous ordering) is basic to the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH.

In Dibabawon Manobo, Myra Lou Barnard notes in the joint article at the end of this volume the following contrasts between NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL linkage via Temporal Margins. I tabulate for convenience:

Narrative Linkage (*Temporal Margins*)	Procedural Linkage (*Temporal Margins*)
1. *pag-*/*pagka-* Gerundatives	1. *pagka-* Gerundatives (rare)
2. *Relator-Axis Sentences* with *no* 'when'	2. *Relator-Axis Sentences* with *ko* 'when/if'
3. Clause in dependent (cf. Ata 'irrealis') tense	3. ______________.

Fundamentally the same situation is reported for Sarangani Bilaan. Thus, Blackburn and McLachlin report concerning PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH:

"(1) A *Relator-Axis Sentence*. This is the most common form of procedure linkage in Sarangani Bilaan. The *Relator-Axis Sentence* is introduced by the conjunction *ku* 'when/if'.

"(2) A Gerundative Clause. This type of linkage is rarely used in PROCEDURE PARAGRAPHS. The Gerundative is formed in the same way as in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS (*ka*-prefix).

Text 2, Para. 2

Ground$_1$	Figure	
Now when (*ku*) you finish making the grainery	then first you look for two people....	STEP$_2$
Now when (*ku*) you find these two people	then first they plant a little amount of seed around the grainery.	STEP$_3$
When (*ku*) they finish	then have them begin planting seed.	STEP$_4$
Now when (*ku*) they finish planting the seed	then first have the two people go around again, because that's the custom when we have finished planting our field.	STEP$_5$

EXAMPLE 46

Text 5, Para. 2

Ground$_1$	Figure	
	Go to the mountain and cut down six posts.	STEP$_1$
And when you finish (*kafngem*) cutting down six posts	then measure...length should be three measures.	STEP$_2$
And when you finish (*kafngem*) sawing the posts	then bring the posts to the place...	STEP$_3$
And when (*ku*) you have carried all the posts	then get the cross-pieces and uprights.	STEP$_4$
And when (*ku*) you have sufficient wood	then measure the length and width of the house.	STEP$_5$

EXAMPLE 47

While Tagabili and Bilaan are closely related, nevertheless, the devices used in procedural linkage in the former are evidently not so diverse from those used in narrative linkage in that language. I quote at length from Doris Porter:

> "PROCEDURE PARAGRAPHS link in the same way as NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS, that is, by Temporal Margins. Successive STEPS are joined by a link between Figure sentence$_1$ and the Temporal Margin of Ground sentence$_2$. If the Temporal Margin is not overt it may always be supplied."

Supp. Para. Ex. 9, "Making a Field"

Ground	Figure	
When they have finished slashing the field, if there is a field	first they let the field dry.	STEP$_1$
And then	they chop down the big trees if there are big trees to chop down.	STEP$_2$:EX.PARA. TEXT
	If that's their work to chop down the big trees they take all day to do it.	EXPO
Having finished chopping down the big trees then	they cut off all the branches.	STEP$_3$
Having finished cutting off all the branches	they wait for it to get dry and for the day to burn it.	STEP$_4$

EXAMPLE 48

PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE, "Burial Customs", Para. 3

Ground	Figure	
	When a person is about to die everyone goes out of the house, only one or two stay to take care of the sick one.	STEP$_1$
When he has died	they go back again but they don't take the property they took out back into the house.	STEP$_2$:EX.P TEXT
	They take it to a different house or shelter.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 49

Supp. Para. Ex. 10, "Making a Field"

Ground	Figure	
	First they tread the grain.	STEP$_1$
When they have finished treading it then	they take out the stems and only the grains are left.	STEP$_2$
And then	they bury the rice medicine inside	STEP$_3$
(When they have buried the rice medicine)	they leave it there a while	STEP$_4$
And then	they take it to the grainery.	STEP$_5$
And then	they measure it by five gallon cans.	STEP$_6$
(When they have measured the rice)	they separate the seed rice and the rice for food and they separate what they will give away and the food to feed the planters when they plant again is different also.	STEP$_7$:EX.P TEXT
	If someone is really hungry for rice that's the beginning of not giving away much rice.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 50

Porter continues:

> "Temporal Margins exploited in PROCEDURE PARAGRAPH linkage are the same as those used in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH linkage, i.e., Relator-Axis Sentences whose Relators are ngang...efet 'continue...until', timbow/tikong 'when', igò 'while', and gulaan 'before'; Gerundatives and Conjunctive omin 'and then/then'.
>
> "Illustrations of Relator-Axis Sentence Temporal Margins are:
>
> Step$_2$, EX.2[=our Ex.49]; Step$_2$, Ex.3[=our Ex.50]..
>
> "Illustrations of Gerundative are:
>
> Step$_3$, Ex.1[=our Ex.48]; Step$_4$, Ex.1[same].
>
> "Illustrations of Conjunctive alone are:
>
> Step$_2$, Ex.1[=our Ex.48]; Step$_3$, Ex.3[=our Ex.50]; Step$_5$, Ex.3[same] and Step$_6$, Ex.3[same].
>
> "Illustrations of Conjunctive in combination with other Temporal Margins are:
>
> Step$_3$, Ex.1[=our Ex.48]; Step$_2$, Ex.3[=our Ex.50].
>
> "There are Relator-Axis Sentences used in Temporal

> *Margins* in PROCEDURE PARAGRAPHS that seldom occur in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. *Relators* of these are *igò* 'while' and *gulaan* 'before'.
>
> "There is one *Relator* occurring in PROCEDURE PARAGRAPHS that never occurs in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. It is *kesok* 'when' (projected action). *Kesok* is the *Relator* most often used in PROCEDURE PARAGRAPH and it quite often occurs in one of its shortened forms. These are *ke* 'when' or *sok* 'when'. In order to differentiate *ke* 'when' from *ke*'if' you may replace *ke* 'when' with *kesok* 'when' whereas *ke* 'if' cannot be so replaced. The latter is used in *Conditional Sentences* which expound ALTERNATIVE STEP."

Harriet Minot reports as follows regarding procedural linkage in Botolan Sambal:

> "The NARRATIVE PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH has an internal time linkage system which is "indefinite" or "future". Also a *Conditional Margin* is very usual. A *Concessive Margin* is less frequent..."

In presenting her example[6] I change somewhat the format and label the nuclear tagmemes STEPS rather than BU's:

Ground	*Figure*	
(Sent. T: phrase) First thing he does	(SeqS) is to clean his seed bed and then plow it.	STEP$_1$
(CndM:R-AS) If he has already plowed,	(SimS+PurM:SimS) he will harrow it so that the clods of earth are broken up.	STEP$_2$
(TemM:Temporal clause) When finished,	(SeqS+PurM:SimS) he scatters his seed and then fences it so that *carabaos* horses and cows cannot enter.	STEP$_3$

EXAMPLE 51

---

[6] Abbreviations used in her example: Sent.T=*Sentence Topic*; CndM=*Conditional Margin*; R-AS=*Relator-Axis Sentence*; TemM=*Temporal Margin*; SeqS=*Sequence Sentence*; SimS=*Simple Sentence*; PurM=*Purpose Margin*. See Vol. II.

In B. Sambal as in Dibabawon, Bilaan, and Tagabili, there is a particle ambiguous as to 'when/if'. Distribution in paragraphs types helps resolve, however, the ambiguity. The 'if'-ish 'when' that occurs in PROCEDURE PARAGRAPHS in effect says, "Now, when-and-if you have done A, you can do B".

Lawrence Reid indicates a further type of linkage for Bontoc where an Extent Sentence is posited whose first base may be used in procedural linkage. An Extent Sentence has roughly the structure: 'Activity A until Activity B'. Use of the first base of this sentence pattern is virtually exemplified between STEPS 8 and 9 of the Bontoc PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH on weaving fishtraps (Example 45)--except that the first base of the Extent Sentence has been elided and is supplied in parenthesis. I recapitulate:

Step 8: '...make the strips with a round section that you can use to weave the traps'
Step 9: '(Keep weaving) until it is finished becoming narrower in diameter, then you cut it...'

Charles Walton also mentions the use of the 'Extent Margin' in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH in Itneg. In that neither Extent Margin nor Extent Sentence is set up by Janice Walton on the sentence level, presumably Charles Walton here refers to use of the 'until' part of a Time Sentence (which is in many ways similar to the Bontoc Extent Sentence).

In the data papers which underlie this study, little is said about the sentence types that expound STEP tagmemes. Several of my colleagues note, however, that Direct Quotation Sentences do not expound STEP. Blackburn and McLachlin (Sarangani Bilaan) comment as follows on the role of the Merged Sentence in expounding STEP tagmeme: "There is frequent use of Merged Sentences within the STEP tagmemes. Such MS's with the verb fnge 'finish' occur in the Time Margin while MS's with the verb funah 'first' occur in the nucleus." The following examples from a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE illustrate this:

"On Rice Farming"

Ground	Figure	
When are finished-you cutting ku tafngem nligo down...	then first-you leave it na funam fbaya	PARA 1 STEP$_2$
Now when finish-you making na ku tafngem mimo the grainery... i butne	then first-you look na funam meye	PARA 2 STEP$_2$

EXAMPLE 52

2.2 SIMULTANEOUS STEP tagmeme.

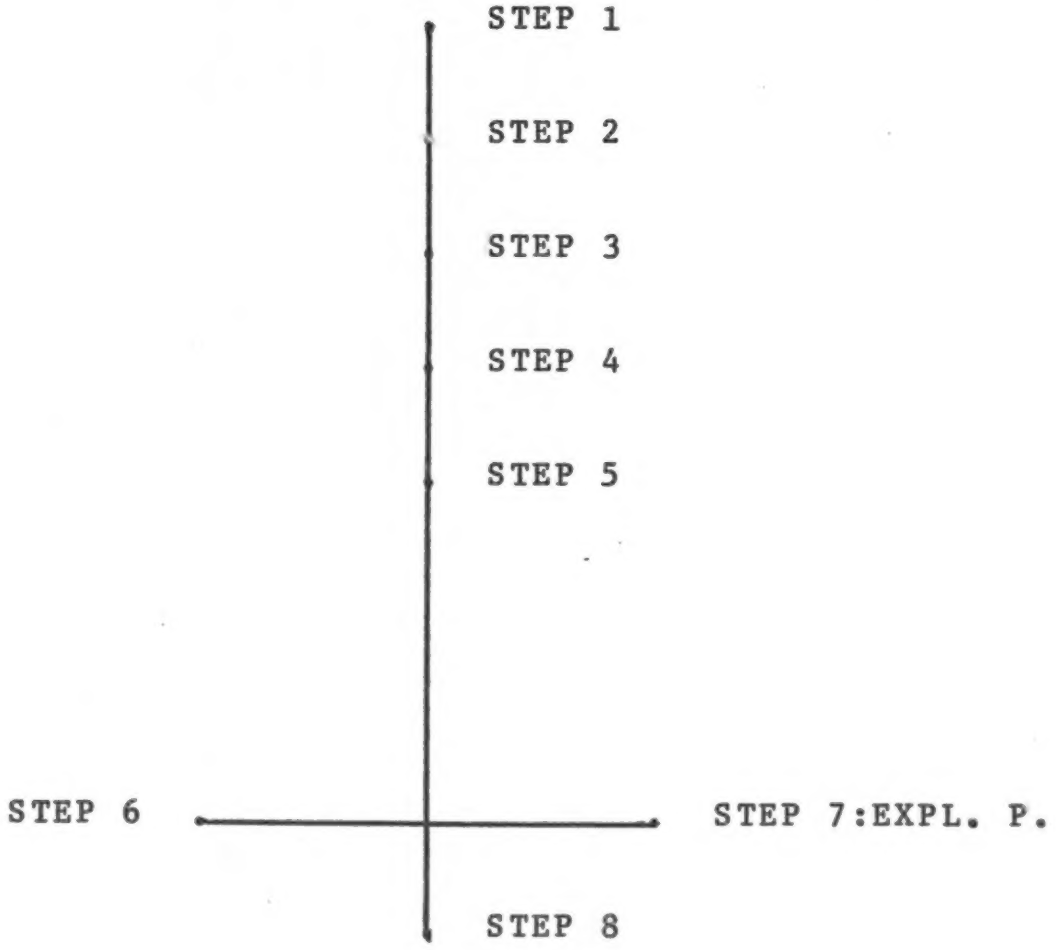
Given an extensive enough corpus of PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE it is likely that SIMULTANEOUS STEPS would turn up in the structure of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS in the various languages. Charles Walton states the case for SIMULTANEOUS STEP tagmeme in Itneg as follows: "The SIMULTANEOUS STEP of PROCEDURE PARAGRAPH is an activity to be carried on while another is being carried out. The SIMULTANEOUS STEP does not necessarily begin at the same time as the regular STEP. However, the STEP preceding the SIMULTANEOUS STEP and the STEP following the SIMULTANEOUS STEP are linked."

This is illustrated in the following Itneg PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH in which STEP$_7$ is simultaneous with 6 and in which STEP$_6$ links to STEP$_8$ ('until it becomes red'>'when it becomes red'):

"The Way to Make Oil"			TITLE OF DISC.
	First skin a dried coconut.		STEP$_1$
After that	divide it, then shred it.		STEP$_2$
After you shred it	squeeze it.		STEP$_3$
When it has been squeezed	strain it again, put it in a frying pan		STEP$_4$
When it has been put in the frying pan	then put it on the fireplace.		STEP$_5$
0	Fire it	until it becomes red, the juice of the coconut that was put in the frying pan so that it is pretty and smells good.	STEP$_6$
When the water becomes less	remove the scum	so that it does not soak up the oil.	SIMULTANEOUS STEP$_7$:EX.PARA TEXT
When it becomes less	it's good oil.		EXPO
When it becomes red	it can be removed, it's cooked.		STEP$_8$
	No more.		CLOSURE of DISC

EXAMPLE 53

Walton further illustrates the structure of this text in the following flow diagram:



SIMULTANEOUS STEP
in the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH
"How to Make Oil"

DIAGRAM 4

A clear instance of a SIMULTANEOUS STEP occurs in K. Bilaan although Norman Abrams simply labels it STEP$_2$ in his data paper. I restate as follows: STEP$_1$: 'When the ground is very clean already you let the ground dry for two days before you plant rice.' SIMULTANEOUS STEP: 'While the ground is drying, you prepare large seeds so that you will have a good harvest.'

In one Botolan Sambal PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH I interpret what Harriet Minot labels as STEP-DOWN to be a SIMULTANEOUS STEP tagmeme. See Example 60 at the end of Section 2.5.

2.3 ALTERNATIVE STEP tagmeme.

ALTERNATIVE STEP is also a likely further tagmeme in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS--although it is posited only in Tagabili, Bontoc, and Itneg.

Doris Porter mentions that ALTERNATIVE STEP "is not consecutive in a sequence but rather is co-occurrent in time with the STEP tagmeme preceding it." This tagmeme is different, however, from the SIMULTANEOUS STEP (which Porter does not posit) in that "It indicates an alternative, that is, if the preceding step is not carried out then the alternative takes its place in the process." Porter further mentions not only that "ALTERNATIVE STEP is expounded by a *Conditional Sentence*" but also that "a STEP which precedes an ALTERNATIVE STEP may be expounded by a *Conditional Sentence*." I reproduce here a portion of an illustrative paragraph that she cites:

Ground *Figure*

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 12

	A well-loved person they put in a coffin so that his relatives can visit him.	ST$_1$
If they make it long	the coffin stays in the house for 29 days.	ST$_2$
If they make it short	it is only seven so that those who loved him can visit him.	ALTER STEP

EXAMPLE 54

It seems plausible to me that whenever a STEP which precedes an ALTERNATIVE STEP is expounded by a *Conditional Sentence*, as above, both might be considered to be ALTERNATIVE STEPS. In this case, the above paragraph would consist of STEP$_1$, ALTER. STEP$_1$ and ALTER. STEP$_2$.

Lawrence Reid has done something on this order in Bontoc where he considers that two ALTERNATE tagmemes may occur in a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH. He also stresses the role of *Conditional Constructions*[7] in linking such ALTERNATIVE STEPS to their context: "An ALTERNATE tagmeme presents an activity in chronological sequence with the preceding STEP$_1$, but indicates by the use of a *Conditional Margin* that that activity is only one of at least two possible procedures at that point. The other ALTERNATIVE PROCEDURE(s) may or may not be stated. ALTERNATE tagmemes show lexical association between a preposed *Conditional Margin*, and an explicit or implicit postposed *Conditional Margin* in the preceding STEP..." Reid's example, from a PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE follows:

---

[7] The matter of whether a given writer refers to '*Conditional Sentence*' or to '*Conditional Margin*' of a sentence reflects a problem in sentence-level analysis (see Vol.II); at all events an 'if-then' sentence is intended.

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
"Making Yeast"			
	Pound red rice (for making wine) so you can taste the yeast you made.	(whether it is good or bad)	STEP$_3$
If it is good	it is possible to use the rest of it.		ALTER. STEP

EXAMPLE 55

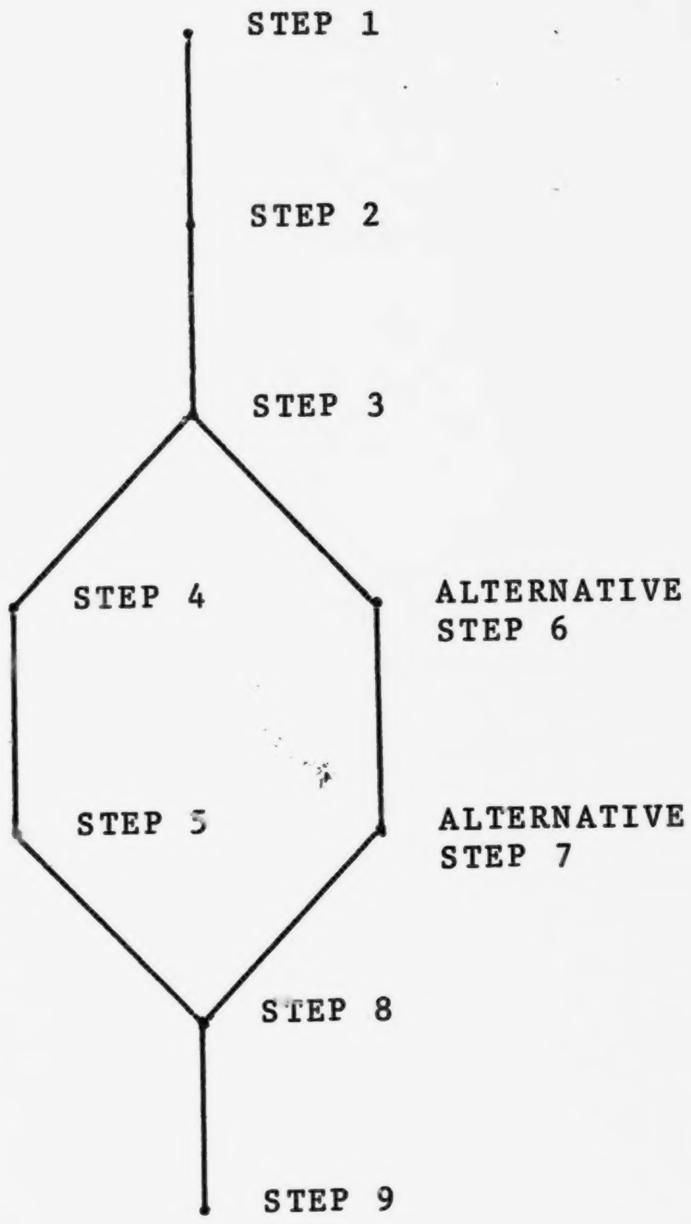
As with SIMULTANEOUS STEP tagmeme so again with the ALTERNATIVE STEP tagmeme the most complete and aptly illustrated discussion is from Itneg (by Chrales Walton). I reproduce below his diagrammatic presentation of a short PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE (one paragraph), and follow this with his flow diagram:

"The Way to Cook an Eel"

Ground	Figure	
The way to cook an eel.		TITLE
If you get one	first clean it.	STEP 1
After that	cut it up, its length, perhaps one inch.	STEP 2
After you cut it up	scrub it again, remove its intestines.	STEP 3
After removing its intestines	put it in a pot.	STEP 4
ø	Add something sour and some onion.	STEP 5
If not, if you want it roasted, when you've cut it up, when you've cleaned it,	roast it, add salt.	ALTER. STEP 6
When it's roasted	then you stew it, add something sour and onion so that it will taste good.	ALTER. STEP 7
When the sour thing and onion have been added	add a little water to cook it in.	STEP 8
After it has simmered in the sour and onion, when it boils	then add as much as you like.	STEP 9
	No more.	CLOSURE of Discourse.

EXAMPLE 56

"The ALTERNATIVE tagmeme is expounded by a sentence or an embedded paragraph which is a potential substitution for a previous STEP tagmeme or series of STEP tagmemes. There is linkage between the ALTERNATIVE tagmeme and the STEP tagmeme which occurs preceding the STEP for which ALTERNATIVE potentially substitutes. The ALTERNATIVE tagmeme 6 above links with STEP 3 and is a potential substitution for STEP 4 and STEP 5. STEP 8 links with both STEP 5 and ALTERNATIVE STEP 7."


STEP 1
STEP 2
STEP 3
STEP 4
ALTERNATIVE STEP 6
STEP 5
ALTERNATIVE STEP 7
STEP 8
STEP 9

ALTERNATIVE STEPS
in the PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE
"The Way to Cook an Eel"

DIAGRAM 5

Although Harriet Minot does not posit an ALTERNATIVE STEP tagmeme in her Botolan Sambal materials two clear instances of this occur in the *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE* "The Farmer", paragraph 3 and 8. In both cases she labels the relevant sentences as PARENS (parenthetical material). In Sambal as in many Philippine languages there is a particle (*no* in B. Sambal) which is ambiguous as to 'when/if'. In *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE* when *no* introduces a sentence which expounds a STEP it does not express genuine alternatives and is translated 'when'; this sense is often reinforced by the use of a further particle *na* 'already' in the same sentence. When, however, *no* introduces a sentence which expounds an ALTERNATIVE STEP tagmeme it expresses genuine alternatives, is translated 'if', and is not accompanied by the particle *na* 'already'. I reproduce below paragraph 8 of Minot's text (but change her PROCEDURAL BU's to STEP, her first PARENS to ALTERNATIVE STEP, and her last PARENS to TERMINAL). STEP$_1$ and STEP$_n$ are introduced by gerundative type constructions marked with *panga-* 'when'; STEP 2 is introduced by *no* temporal; while ALTERNATIVE STEP and TERMINAL are introduced by *no* conditional.

"The Rice Farmer", Para. 8

Ground	*Figure*	
(TemM) When the rice is all harvested and his bundles are dry now,	(ConS) he makes small stacks (in the field) and hauls them in to make a large stack.	STEP 1
(TemM) When (*no*) he's already (*na*) stacked it,	(ConS) he'll make an arbor and he'll have it threshed.	STEP 2
(CndM) If (*no*) he has many large stacks and his *carabao* is unable to thresh it,	(SimS) he will have a truck thresh it.	ALTER. STEP 3
(TemM) When (*panga-*) he is finished having it threshed,	(SeqS) he'll have it winnowed to measure how much he harvested and then he'll put it away.	STEP n
(CndM)..if he has debts,	(AntS) 0 But... (SimS) he'll pay them.	TERM

EXAMPLE 57

2.4 ACTIVITY tagmeme (S. Bilaan)

Blackburn and McLachlin posit for Sarangani Bilaan an ACTIVITY tagmeme which "announces the activity whose STEPS are given in the following sentences" of the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH. I reproduce below their two examples of this tagmeme:

"On Rice Farming", Para. 2

Ground	Figure	
And when you have finished piling it together	then you begin to plant rice.	ACTIVITY
When (ku) you plant rice	then first you make a grainery there in the middle of the field.	STEP 1: EX.PARA

EXAMPLE 58

"The Marriage of Ginong and Nini", Para. 15

Ground	Figure	
And when the people arrive at the house, before eating at noon, they pass the time...talking...		SETT
And when (ku) the food is ready	now that is the time to eat.	ACTIVITY
And when (ku) eating	those who eat first..	STEP 1

EXAMPLE 59

2.5 SETTING and TERMINUS tagmemes.

SETTING and TERMINUS occur in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS much as in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. They are, however, not as common in the PROCEDURAL. For this reason in the limited available bodies of data in Botolan Sambal and Sarangani Bilaan, SETTING is not encountered in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS in the former, nor TERMINUS in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS in the latter. Mansaka has some apt examples of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS which contain both SETTING and TERMINUS. Thus, in the first full paragraph of the text on worm medicine the SETTING is: 'If pills are the medicine this is what we will do'. The TERMINUS is: 'This is the way of this medicine'. In between lie specific PROCEDURAL STEPS: (1) 'Fast from the previous night'; (2) 'Swallow pills the first thing in the morning'; (3) 'Break the fast at noontime.'

A similar Mansaka example in the text on intestinal pains has a PARAGRAPH SETTING (PORTMANTEAU with DISCOURSE APERTURE): 'The way you cause a person to drink the medicine for pains in the intestines is like this'. TERMINUS is: 'That is the instructions for the one who has pains in the intestines and who is vomiting and has diarrhea'. In between come the specific PROCEDURAL STEPS which tell the adult to cause the child to drink the medicine at certain prescribed hours, then rinse the bottle with water and have the child drink the rinse.

In both these Mansaka examples the SETTING anticipates the type of activity that is to follow and the TERMINUS summarizes it. SETTING in these paragraphs is similar to the ACTIVITY tagmeme posited by Blackburn and McLachlin for Sarangani Bilaan. Nevertheless, the second example of ACTIVITY tagmeme in S. Bilaan (Example 59) illustrates the difference between SETTING and ACTIVITY tagmemes in that language. Thus, in that example, what is called SETTING is not inaptly named so: 'And when the people arrive at the house, before eating at noon,they pass the time talking'. The ACTIVITY tagmeme anticipates, however, the main action of the paragraph: 'And when the food is ready, now that is the time to eat.'

The matter of SETTING (circumstances, time, place) in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS versus ACTIVITY (a sort of topic sentence) needs further investigation in the various Philippine languages.

Botolan Sambal has an example of TERMINUS which expresses closing comment or result of the sort encountered in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. I reproduce here the translation of the whole paragraph (changing PROCEDURAL BU to STEP and STEP-DOWN to SIMULTANEOUS STEP):

"The Rice Farmer", Para. 4

When his seedlings have now sprouted and can be transplanted, he has his field plowed a second time.	STEP$_1$
He now speaks to the people whom he has a ready paid to plant, and then he has his seedlings pulled out and causes them to be planted.	STEP$_n$
His wife is also taking care of cooking rice for the workers and taking food for the draggers if it is now time for planting.	SIMUL. STEP
He is happy when he has finished planting his paddies.	TERM

EXAMPLE 60

In Bontoc and Itneg, where PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES are typically of one paragraph length the sentence which expounds the SETTING of the paragraph is a portmanteau exponent of discourse APERTURE while the sentence which expounds the TERMINUS is a portmanteau exponent of FINIS.

2.6 While consecutive time horizons play a part in determining COORDINATE NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS (cf. 1.3) they are an ancillary criterion in that it is actually the presence of two peaks (BU_n) that is more diagnostic. In PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS, while we find examples of consecutive time horizons within such paragraphs our present data do not seem to include more than one peak ($STEP_n$) within the paragraph. Perhaps the explanation of this is that a series of STEPS in a procedure often necessitates reference to consecutive time horizons (for successful prescription) more than a series of consecutive activities in a narrative.

The following free translation of the nucleus of the Mansaka PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH on worm medicine contains time horizons 'night', 'morning', and 'noontime' which seem to correlate with $STEP_1$, $STEP_2$, and $STEP_n$. $STEP_2$ is expounded by an embedded HORTATORY PARAGRAPH whose internal structure is not relevant to our present concerns:

"Procedure for Worm Medicine"

At night it is necessary that no more food be eaten.	$STEP_1$
When morning comes, at daybreak we will get up. Then we will not yet drink coffee and not eat food; this is the first thing we will put in our throats and swallow, these pills. For example, if three pills are what has been given us, the three pills is what will be all swallowed, at one time and all together.	$STEP_2$
Then after it is noontime, we will eat food.	$STEP_n$

EXAMPLE 61

The nucleus of the Mansaka PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH on medicine for intestinal pains has four tagmemes. $STEP_2$ is expounded, however, by a sentence (Coor.S) which itself contains three consecutive time horizons. Again, there is no correlation of such consecutive time horizons with parts of a possible COORDINATE PARAGRAPH:

"Procedure for Intestinal Pains"

Now cause him to drink half a spoonful.	STEP$_1$
When afternoon comes, again cause him to drink half a spoonful, and at sunset again cause him to drink the medicine.	STEP$_2$
Again cause him to drink every four hours until the medicine is finished.	STEP$_3$
When finished the medicine, wash and rinse the bottle and cause the child to drink (what is in the bottle); the child whose intestines hurt.	STEP$_n$

EXAMPLE 62

The above text illustrates well the option of the speaker in grouping as many lexical STEPS as he pleases into the same grammatical STEPS by the device of encoding them into the same grammatical sentence. The above could be paraphrased as: (1) 'Give him medicine right now. (2) Then give him more medicine at three stated times today. (3) Then continue to give medicine every four hours. (4) When the medicine is gone rinse out the bottle and have him drink the rinse.' Given this grouping of lexical STEPS into grammatical STEPS the speaker then choses to specify somewhat the lexical STEPS encoded within (2).

2.7 Embedding in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS.

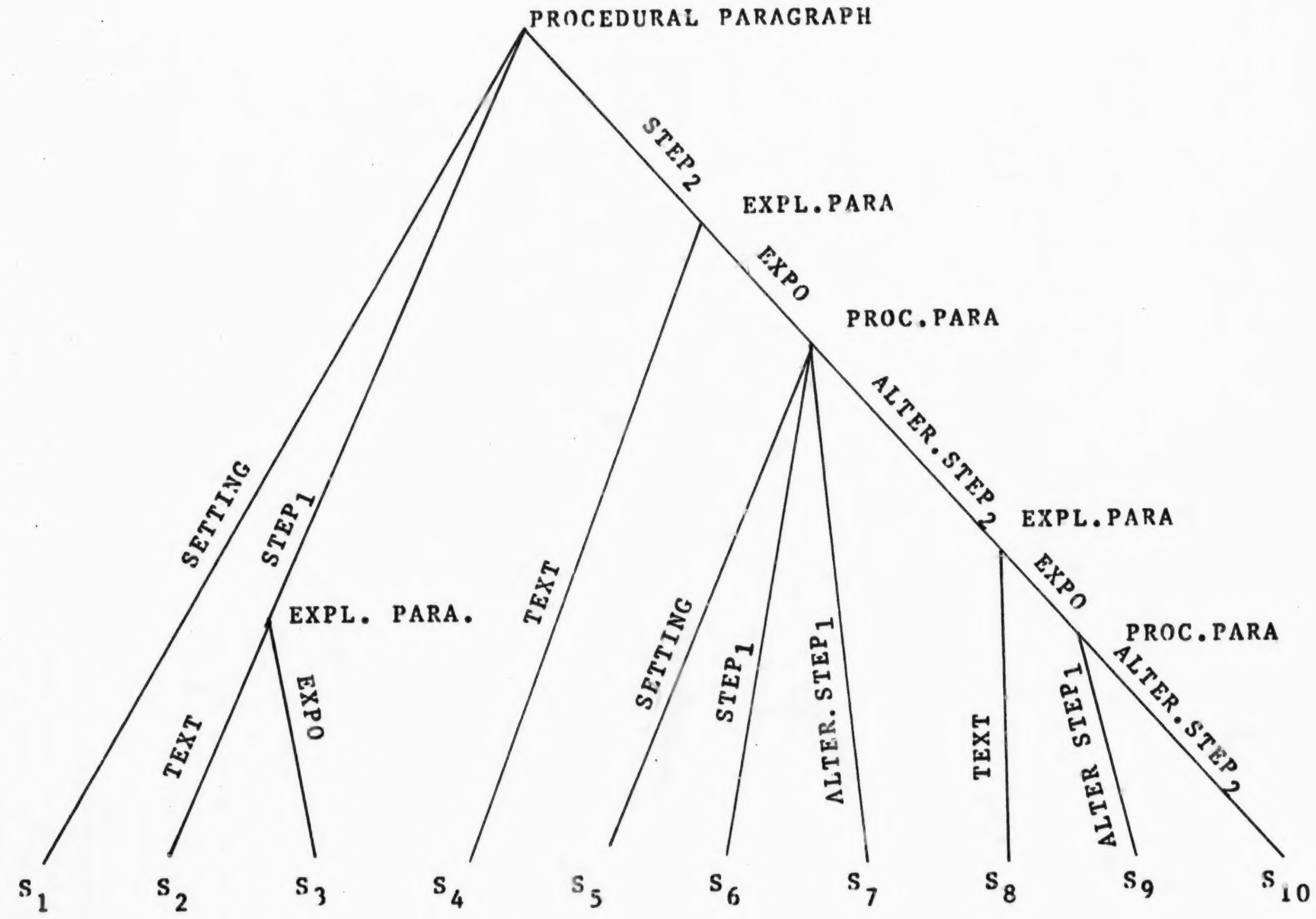
As in the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS there may be considerable embedding within the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS. The following example from Tagabili has mutual embedding of PROCEDURAL and EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS in alternate layers. Sentence 1 expounds the SETTING. Sentences 2 and 3 constitute an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH that expounds STEP$_1$. Sentence 4 and following constitute an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH that expounds STEP$_2$. In this EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH sentence 4 expounds TEXT and sentences 5 and following constitute an embedded PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH that expounds the EXPOSITION tagmeme. Within this embedded PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH, sentence 5 is SETTING; sentence 6 is STEP$_1$; and sentence 7 is ALTERNATIVE STEP$_1$ (labelled STEP$_2$ by Porter; but cf. 2.3). Sentences 8-10 constitute an embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH that expounds ALTERNATIVE STEP$_2$. Within this embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH, sentence 8 expounds TEXT and sentences 9-10 constitute an embedded PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH, of which sentence 9 expounds ALTERNATIVE STEP$_1$ and sentence 10 expounds ALTERNATIVE STEP$_2$. I follow with a linkage diagram (adapted from Porter) and a tree diagram.

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 8

	Ground	Figure	
1		Concerning the life of the Tagabili, it isn't peaceful.	SETT
2		There are some houses it isn't long they are already worn out.	STEP$_1$:EXPL.PARA TEXT
3		Some last two years, some three, four or five years.	EXPO
4	When they are worn out	they look for another place to build.	STEP$_2$:EXPL.PARA TEXT
5		They look for a place to make a field where the forest is good but first they check to see if the ground is cursed.	EXPO:PROC.PARA SETT
6		They tie up a bowl, it is half full of water.	STEP$_1$
7		If the water doesn't spill they say the ground is blessed there.	ALTER STEP$_1$
8		If the water spills it is bad to build a house there.	ALTER STEP$_2$: EXPL.PARA. TEXT
9		If a lot spills an adult will die.	EXPO: PROC.PARA ALTER STEP$_1$
10		If a little, a child will die.	ALTER STEP$_2$

EXAMPLE 62

For further examples of EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS expounding a STEP in a PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH, see other Tagabili examples under 2.1 (Examples 48-50) and the Itneg example under 2.2 (Example 53). The Sarangani Bilaan data also include clear examples of STEP tagmemes expounded by EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. This is also authenticated in Atta Negrito. Although Claudia Whittle sets up EXPOSITION tagmemes directly in her PROCEDURE PARAGRAPHS she adds "A STEP tagmeme may be followed by an optional nuclear EXPOSITION tagmeme which may expound the preceding STEP....An EXPO tagmeme links to the preceding tagmeme with parallel linkage just as it links to TEXT tagmeme in the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH..." If the EXPOSITION


PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH
SETTING
STEP1
STEP2
EXPL.PARA
EXPL. PARA.
TEXT
EXPO
TEXT
EXPO
PROC.PARA
SETTING
STEP1
ALTER.STEP1
ALTER.STEP2
EXPL.PARA
TEXT
EXPO
PROC.PARA
ALTER STEP1
ALTER.STEP2
S_1
S_2
S_3
S_4
S_5
S_6
S_7
S_8
S_9
S_{10}

Tree Graph of Tagabili PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH
with extensive embedding

DIAGRAM 6

tagmeme of Atta forms an immediate constituent grouping with the preceding STEP it is a valid conclusion that the STEP is actually expounded by an embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH which consists of TEXT and EXPOSITION tagmemes.

While the commonest paragraph level exponent of a STEP tagmeme is the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH the Mansaka texts often referred to above exemplify the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH (broadly similar to the EXPLANATORY) as exponent of STEP, see Sec. 2.6.

The prevalence of the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH as an exponent of a PROCEDURAL STEP is based on the proneness of the person giving procedure to stop to explain one or more steps which might not be otherwise clear. Similarly, the occasional occurrence of an embedded HORTATORY PARAGRAPH reflects the speaker's anxiety that certain PROCEDURAL STEPS will not be followed carefully by his hearer.

2.8 PROJECT PARAGRAPH (Bontoc)

Lawrence Reid posits for Bontoc a further paragraph type, the PROJECT PARAGRAPH which is distinct from the PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH (He also posits a PROJECT DISCOURSE as distinct from the PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE; Cf. 6 of Part 1). He posits a SETTING in the PROJECT PARAGRAPH but not in the PROCEDURAL--possibly for the simple reason that Bontoc PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES so far recorded are one paragraph long with the first sentence patterning as discourse-level APERTURE instead of paragraph-level SETTING (although the one sentence could be considered to be a portmanteau exponent of both). Reid also posits a SIMULTANEOUS STEP in his PROJECT PARAGRAPH but states under PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH that very probably with further data SIMULTANEOUS STEPS would be found in the latter as well.

What Reid considers to be the distinguishing features of PROJECT PARAGRAPHS are certain characteristics which resemble on the one hand NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS and on the other hand PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS. Thus he says:

> "...The PROJECT PARAGRAPH contains a SPEECH tagmeme like the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, but consists primarily of STEPS giving sequential activity linked by lexical chaining, with ALTERNATIVE and SIMULTANEOUS tagmemes presenting non-sequential activity, as in PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS.
>
> "PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS as noted above are composed of sentences containing a large proportion of non-subjective focus clauses with the possibility of considerable deletion of

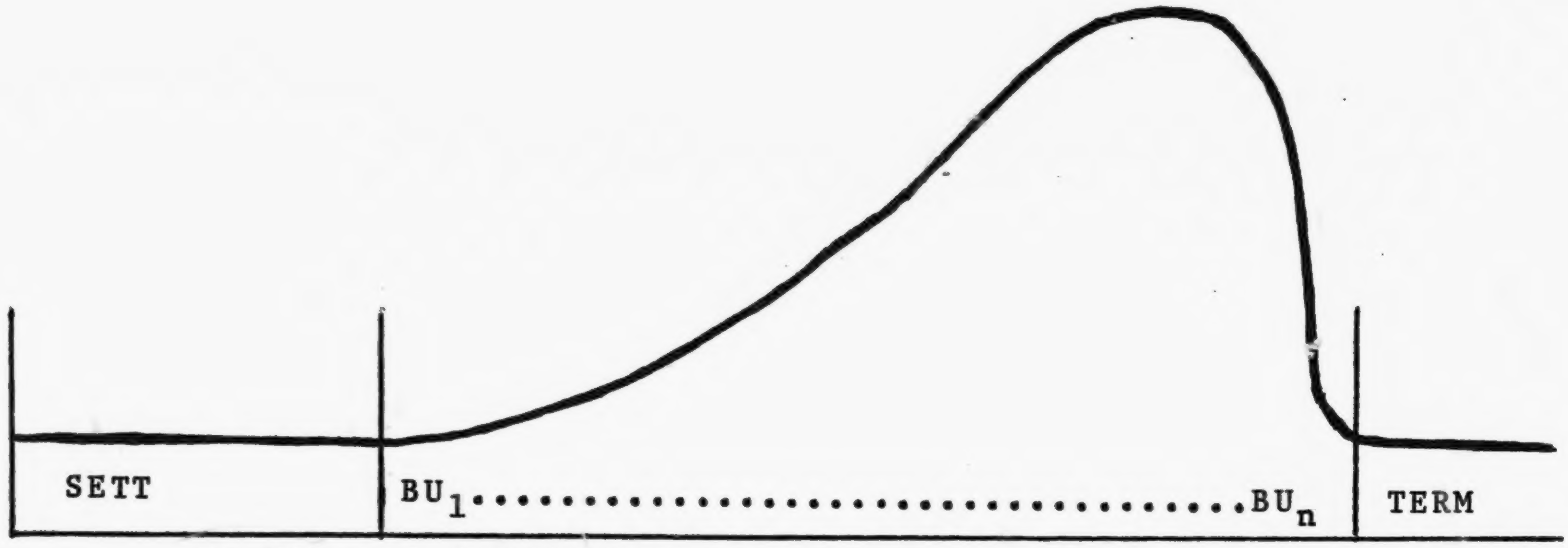
> clause tagmemes because of the goal-oriented nature of procedures, and the fact that the Actor from STEP to STEP frequently remains unchanged.
>
> "PROJECT PARAGRAPHS on the other hand are similar to NARRATIVE in that there is a larger proportion of subjective focus clauses, a great variety of goals, actors, and activities, and consequently a much lower degree of deletion. PROJECT PARAGRAPHS, nevertheless, have the same kind of time orientation as PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS."

3 EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH

The nuclei of EXPLANATORY (and HORTATORY) PARAGRAPHS are characterized by flow through parallelism rather than by the chaining which characterizes the two paragraph types already described. Essentially this means that all or part of one sentence is paraphrased in the following sentence.

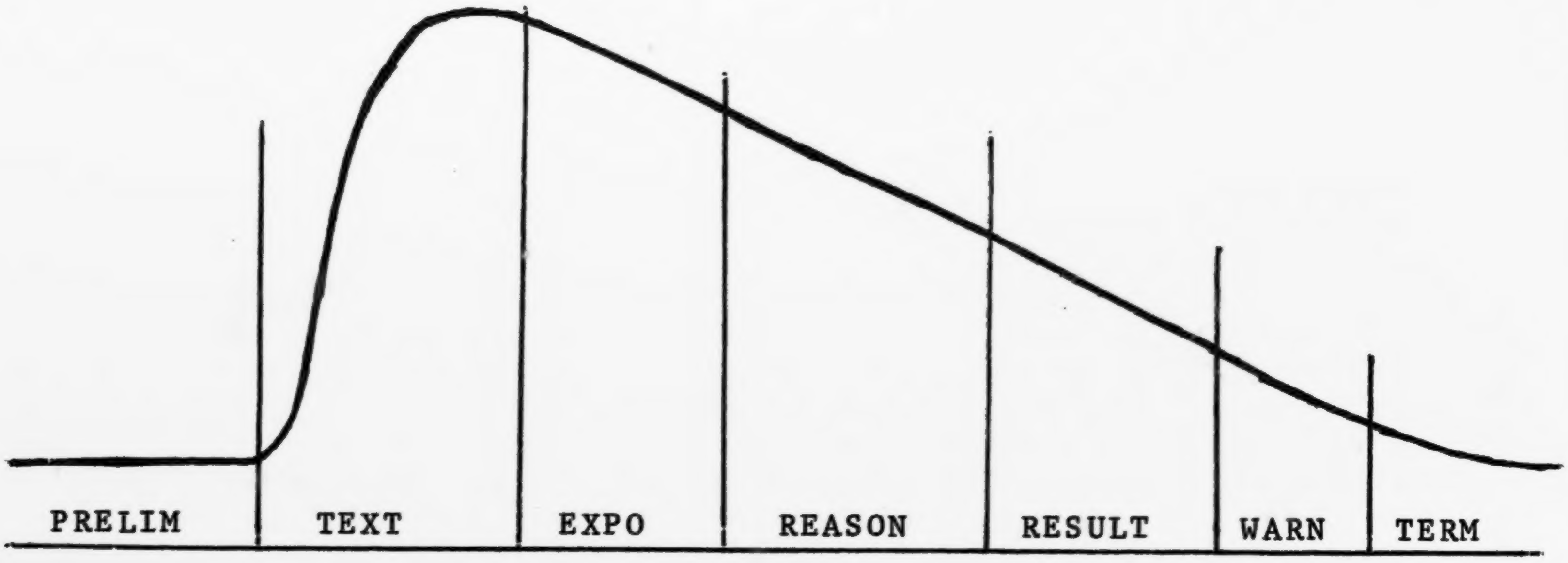
A general formula for EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS in the various languages is: ±PRELIM (+TEXT±EXPO±REASON±RESULT±WARNING) ±TERMINAL. Parentheses enclose the nuclear tagmemes. PRELIM and EXPO signify PRELIMINARY and EXPOSITION tagmemes. The linear ordering of the formula is relevant in that TEXT is initial, while REASON usually precedes RESULT when these two tagmemes co-occur. WARNING is rare in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS and is arbitrarily assigned a position final in the nucleus. EXPO, which can occur an indefinite number of times in a paragraph can follow REASON and/or RESULT (and presumably WARNING as well).

The one obligatory tagmeme of an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH is the TEXT--which is much like the topic sentence of traditional rhetoric. It is the PEAK grammatically and lexically of its paragraph. As PEAK of its paragraph, the TEXT contrasts in placement with the PEAK (BU_n or STEP_n) of NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS which come late in the paragraph. The profiles of the EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS are, therefore, fundamentally different from those of the NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS, as seen in the following schematic representations:


SETT
BU$_1$..................................BU$_n$
TERM

Profile of NARRATIVE (and PROCEDURAL) PARAGRAPHS

DIAGRAM 7


PRELIM
TEXT
EXPO
REASON
RESULT
WARN
TERM

Profile of EXPLANATORY (and HORTATORY) PARAGRAPHS

DIAGRAM 8

3.1 TEXT and EXPOSITION tagmemes.

The TEXT (topic sentence) may be followed by an indefinite series of EXPOSITION (EXPO) tagmemes.

The following paragraph from Maranao illustrates this well:

"Red Star over Islam", Para. 4

Ground	Figure	
...just after they seized power in 1917.	The Bolsheviks worked to destroy Islam.....	TEXT
	The first they turned to was Turkestan.	EXPO
	There they destroyed the Islam government and through their systematic confiscation of food they caused the death by starvation of 800,000 Moslems.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 64

Here 'the Bolsheviks worked to destroy Islam' is parallel to 'they turned to Turkestan' while even the stretch translated 'the first' is somewhat parallel to 'just after they seized the power in 1917.' If doubt is entertained as to the parallelism of 'Islam' and 'Turkestan', it is resolved by sentence 3 where we are told 'There (ro'o a deictic referring back to the word 'Turkestan' at the end of the preceding sentence) they destroyed the Islam government'. This Coordinate Sentence continues with a further parallel portion regarding causing the death of 800,000 Moslems. The parallel parts can be tabulated as in a Harris "Discourse Analysis":

"Red Star over Islam", Para. 4

...just after they came to power in 1917	The Bolsheviks	worked to destroy	Islam...
the first	they	turned to (was)	Turkestan
	they	destroyed	there...the Islam government
	and they	caused the death by starvation (through systematic confiscation of food) of	800,000 Moslems.

Parallelism within a Maranao EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH

DIAGRAM 9

Naturally any definitive exhibition of parallelism should be made in the Maranao text itself--not on the translation of it. Nevertheless, even in translation the essential parallelisms stand out.

This paragraph is followed by another in the same Maranao text:

"Red Star over Islam", Para. 5

During the next ten years	the Bolsheviks continued their program of destroying Islam in Russia.	TEXT
	6,000 mosques and 8,000 schools of Islam they destroyed or they made into stables and dance halls and houses of idolatry which destroy religion.	EXPO
	The holy Sariath was taken from the lives of Islams.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 65

The TEXT of this paragraph is much like that of the preceding. The words of the TEXT 'The Bolsheviks continued their program of destroying Islam in Russia' are paralleled and explained in the next two sentences in which we are told that they destroyed 6,000 mosques and 8,000 schools of Islam or converted such centers of Islamic religion into various other buildings. The third sentence is similar, but is goal focus and could presumably be transformed to the Maranao equivalent of "They took the holy Sariath from the lives of Islams."

The next example, from Sarangani Bilaan shows a parallelism involving Ground$_1$, Figure, and Ground$_2$.

"Bilaan Marriage Customs", Para. 6

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
But now (Kabay tasadni) it's very different from the customs a long time ago in regard to getting a wife.			PRELIM
So (du) now if (ku) you don't have any money ↓	it's very difficult to get a wife, ↓	because (du) a lot of money is asked for and a big fiesta too. ↓	TEXT
Now if (ku) you don't have any pigs and rice	then it's very difficult ↓	because (du) sometimes others ask for cows. ↓	EXPO$_1$
	And so now (taman sadni) it's become very difficult	because (du) many are following the customs of the Visayans.	EXPO$_2$

EXAMPLE 66

Another Sarangani Bilaan EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH exemplifies frequent use of such paragraphs at a near onset of a *NARRATIVE DISCOURSE*. The first EXPO tagmeme simply adds the name of the girl referred to in the TEXT; the second EXPO, picking up the girl's name states the TEXT more fully (with parallelism of 'a girl', 'this girl...Mary', and 'this Mary' in TEXT, EXPO$_1$, AND EXPO$_2$; as well as parallelism of 'that didn't have a husband yet' in the TEXT with 'when I don't have a husband yet' in the EXPO$_2$):

Text 16, Para. 2

Figure	Ground$_2$	
This Jesus, God caused to be born by a girl that didn't have a husband yet.		TEXT
This girl's name was Mary.		EXPO$_1$
This Mary, she was very sad.	because (*du*) she said, "How can I conceive when I don't have a husband?"	EXPO$_2$

EXAMPLE 67

In the following Tagabili EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH, all the EXPO tagmemes explain the TEXT: "There are many types of weapons among the Tagabili, like knives." To show the parallelism of EXPO$_1$ to the TEXT, a transformation producing the Tagabili equivalent of 'The Tagabili have many types of weapons like knives' would be helpful. The sentence expounding EXPO$_3$ could be transformed to something on the order of 'they use bows and arrows on their enemies....' EXPO$_2$ implies something on the order of 'They use an arrow called *lewet* which....'

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 26

There are many types of weapons among the Tagabili, like knives.	TEXT
Some they buy from the Moslems, some they just make themselves.	EXPO$_1$
Lewet is one kind of an arrow that when you shoot it, even if it just makes a scratch the target will die.	EXPO$_2$
Bow and arrows are used on a lot of their enemies, and there are many other things also.	EXPO$_3$

EXAMPLE 68

Note also the following Ata Manobo example:

"Landing", Para. 4:47

They made many landing [airstrips] in all the peoples' languages.	TEXT
You took our Ata language, also that of many people here on Mindanao.	EXPO$_1$
They took the languages of the people here.	EXPO$_2$
There are many people where a landing hasn't been put.	TERM

EXAMPLE 69

Parallelism between a TEXT and EXPO may, as we have seen, be somewhat covert because of differences in the grammatical form of clauses occurring within the various senences. Thus changes in the focus of a clause (subject-focus, object focus, associate focus, and referent focus); active versus causative distinction; as well as verbal clause versus equational clause with nominalized verbs, all serve to obscure the parallelism to the analyst--but to give stylistic variety and enrichment along with subtle shading of emphasis.

Sometimes the parallelism is chiastic, i.e. part A of the TEXT is parallel to part B of the EXPO while part B of the TEXT is parallel to part A of the EXPO. The following translation of an Ata Manobo paragraph illustrates such chiasmus:

"On Marriage Arrangements", Para. 4

Ground	Figure	
Why, then are you the one making marriage arrangements	because they will resist because also you don't have a bride price.	TEXT
She will only be strongly desired until you have the bride-price	because what can you do in that you prematurely talked out loud about making marriage arrangements with that girl.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 70

To see the crisscrossing parallelism, it is helpful to line up the parts of the sentences as follows:

'Why then are you the one making marriage arrangements? What can you do in that you prematurely talked out loud about making marriage arrangements with that girl?'

'They will resist because you don't have a bride-price. She will only be strongly desired until you have a bride-price.'

Sometimes a series of EXPO tagmemes explain first one part then another of a TEXT. Notice the following Maranao example:

"Red Star over Islam", Para. 23

Figure	Ground$_2$	
I dared not openly oppose the Communists but was always afraid and ashamed.		TEXT
I feared that I would be known by the secret police re. my religion and they would shame me.		EXPO$_1$
I was always ashamed,	because I could not live by the commands of the Koran.	EXPO$_2$

EXAMPLE 71

Here, it is the second part of the TEXT--expounded by an Antithetical Sentence--that is explained in the EXPO tagmemes. In the second half of this sentence the words 'afraid' and 'ashamed' appear. These are explained in EXPO$_1$ and EXPO$_2$ respectively.

Not dissimilar is a Sarangani Bilaan EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH:

"Bilaan Customs", Para. 10

Figure	Ground$_2$	
A long time ago there was the ceremony of "Returning the Food" and "Shaking of Ashes".		TEXT
The "Shaking of Ashes" concerns skirts, if not dresses	because these are given to the parents of the boy.	EXPO$_1$
The "Returning of Food" was given by the boy	because the rice and viand are brought so that the mother and father of the girl just newly married can be fed.	EXPO$_2$

EXAMPLE 72

Here the two ceremonies mentioned in the TEXT are each explained in successive EXPO tagmemes.

3.2 The REASON tagmeme.

A TEXT may also be followed by a REASON tagmeme--whether or not any EXPO tagmemes intervene. The REASON should not, however, specifically relate to some element found in the EXPO but not in the TEXT. When the latter contingency occurs then there is EXPO tagmeme expounded by an embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH with its own TEXT, REASON structure. Thus, we may have either:

TEXT: S_1
EXPO: S_2
REASON: S_3

or

TEXT: S_1
EXPO: EX. PARA=
TEXT: S_2
REASON: S_3

The most transparent examples of REASON tagmemes are those expounded by sentences that are paraphrases of a Cause Margin (Ground$_2$) in the previous sentence. Several examples of these follow:

Atta Negrito, "Kurusipin and John", Para. 14

Figure	Ground$_2$	
They didn't receive the skin of the carabao,	because unfortunately they didn't know how to twang it.	TEXT
They didn't know his system.		REASON

EXAMPLE 73

Here 'they didn't know how to twang it' and 'they didn't know his system' are parallel in the same fashion illustrated for TEXT and EXPO in the preceding section.

Sarangani Bilaan, "The Marriage of Ginong and Nini", Para. 13

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
Now, when it's time for the wedding, beginning the night before	the people don't sleep	because before daybreak then they begin to cook.	TEXT
	And the boys kill the pigs for viand and others make coffee	because it's the drink for people at breakfast.	REASON

EXAMPLE 74

In this example the whole second sentence is a paraphrase and explanation of the Cause Margin in the first sentence.

Dibabawon, "Father's Last Illness", Para. 6

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
Since that was the first time I had seen the size and shape of an airplane	That was what scared me	because that kind of equipment is really huge up close.	TEXT
	We supposed, when it flies, that it is small, but it's really big.		REASON

EXAMPLE 75

Here the Antithetical Sentence is exponent of REASON by virtue of being a paraphrase and expansion of the Cause Margin on the preceding sentence.

From the same Dibabawon TEXT comes another example:

"Father's Last Illness", Para. 3

Figure	Ground$_2$	
But it was the same as if he had recovered from his illness	because he became famous by riding in an airplane.	TEXT
There is no other old man who has ridden in an airplane; he's the only one.		REASON

EXAMPLE 76

The Cause Margin that is paraphrased in the REASON tagmeme may, however, be an Interrogative Cause Margin as in the following Tausug example:

"Salip Amirul", Para. embedded in Para. 8

Figure	Ground$_2$	
Their power has been taken by other people,	because why shouldn't it be taken?	TEXT
They have no schooling for example.		REASON

EXAMPLE 77

Here the Interrogative Cause Margin is a question that is answered in the next sentence.

On occasion, however, the sentence which expounds the TEXT may lack a Cause Margin, but the following sentence, nevertheless, can be taken to be a paraphrase of such a margin were it present. This is equivalent to saying that a particle meaning 'because' (the Relator used regularly to mark Cause Margin in a given language) can be supplied without objection at the onset of the second sentence--thus transforming it to a Cause Margin. Note the following Tausug example:

"Salip Amirul", Para. embedded in Para. 8

Figure	Ground$_2$	
He can't care for himself that's how they are now.	∅	TEXT
[because] they have no schooling.		REASON

EXAMPLE 78

This paragraph, in context with the preceding example, seems clearly to intend to give a reason in stating 'They have no schooling.' Admittedly, however, there is a certain subjectivity involved in positing a REASON tagmeme on the basis that a particle 'because' can be supplied with transformation of sentence 2 to a Cause Margin of sentence 1. Nevertheless, as long as examples like the two Tausug ones just given exist side by side in the same text there can be no doubt that some exponents of REASON tagmeme have this formally unmarked structure discernible only by resort to transformation.

In the following two Tagabili examples there seems to be no good reason to doubt that the second sentence in each case is meant to expound a REASON tagmeme.

Supp. Para., Ex. 18, from "Birth"

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
When the pregnancy begins to show	it's not good if the husband does his work if he does not rub his wife's abdomen.	∅	TEXT
	[because] they say maybe the birth of the child will be difficult.		REASON

EXAMPLE 79

Supp. Para., Ex. 17 "Making a Field"

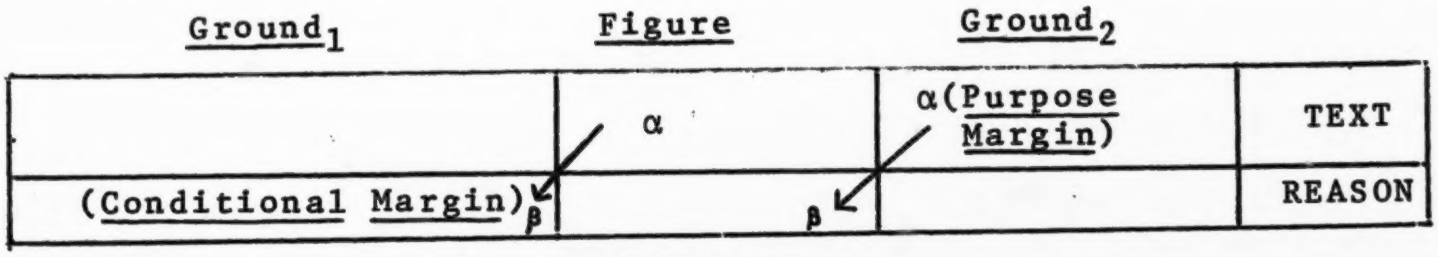
Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
When they finish eating	what they do, they hide the food wrappers.	ø	TEXT
	[because] They say, 'There's the star, it might see it.'		REASON

EXAMPLE 80

In the sentence structures of some languages it has seemed desirable not only to posit Cause Margins expounded by Relator-Axis Sentences whose Relator is 'because' but also to assume that the same particle could introduce a new sentence as well (see Vol. II). In these circumstances a sentence beginning with 'because' can expound a REASON tagmeme in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. All things being equal, however, in most cases it is simplest to assume that such a construction is a Cause Margin even when lengthy and preceded by the pause, which is characteristic of the end of phonological sentence.

A further variety of exponent of REASON tagmeme involves a Conditional Margin (or Protasis of a Conditional Sentence if the sentence-level analysis makes the 'if' clause nuclear). For two successive sentences expounding TEXT and REASON the following relations hold: (1) The Figure of sentence 1 is given a β value and made the Ground (as an 'if' clause) of sentence 2. (2) The postposed Ground (Purpose Clause) of sentence 1 is likewise given a β value and made the Figure of sentence 2.

This is summarized in the following diagram:



Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	α	α(Purpose Margin)	TEXT
(Conditional Margin)$_\beta$	β		REASON

DIAGRAM 10

It remains possible to prepose a 'because' Relator to the entire second sentence, thus transforming it to a Cause Margin of the first sentence.

In the following two examples the Purpose Margin of sentence 1 is lacking but has been supplied.

K. Bilaan, "Dulan", sentences 82-4

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	I forgive you	[so that you won't go to jail]	TEXT
If I don't forgive ↙ you I say, if I don't release you,	surely you'll ↙ be jailed tomorrow; your sentence will last six years.		REASON

EXAMPLE 81

Atta Negrito, Whittle's example 15

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	Domi, the nephew of Uncle Inggu he also came to visit	[so that they would know about the coming serenade]	TEXT
If Domi hadn't ↙ [come]	they wouldn't ↙ have known about the coming serenade.		REASON

EXAMPLE 82

In this Atta example REASON is expounded by a Contrary-to-Fact Conditional Sentence. Whether or not Conditional Margins are posited in the sentence papers underlying this report, Contrary-to-Fact Conditional Sentences are posited in most of the languages. This is one of the few cases in which a nuclear feature of a sentence functions as a Ground in intra-paragraph linkages. Typically a Ground involves the sentence margins.

3.3 The RESULT tagmeme.

A TEXT may also be followed by a RESULT tagmeme. RESULT is in some ways the converse of REASON. Thus, while a REASON tagmeme is expounded by a sentence which paraphrases the Cause Margin of the preceding sentence (TEXT); a RESULT tagmeme is expounded by a sentence whose Cause Margin paraphrases the preceding sentence (TEXT). Note the following Dibabawon example:

"Father's Last Illness", Para. 10

Figure	Ground$_2$	
Wow, what a beautiful place that is at Nasuli		TEXT
No wonder they chose to live there	because it is really a beautiful place there at Nasuli.	REASON

EXAMPLE 83

A RESULT tagmeme may, however, be expounded by a sentence whose Purpose Margin paraphrases the TEXT:

K. Bilaan, "Dulan", Para. 1

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
When I first believed the Word of God	I thought and believed in my mind that I didn't know how to give tithes to God...		TEXT
	And this reason for this reason, He showed me, He gave me	so that I would remember to give my tithe to God.	RESULT

EXAMPLE 84

In this example, Ground 2 is not a Purpose Margin but a part of the nucleus of a Bilaan Result Sentence--which, however, is derived by incorporating a Cause or Purpose Margin into the nucleus.

In the following Itneg example, both TEXT and RESULT are expounded by a Coordinate Sentence. Each part of the Coordinate Sentence which expounds TEXT is paraphrased in a Cause Margin of the embedded sentences which constitute the Coordinate Sentence expounding RESULT:

"Beginning of the World", Para. 1

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
In the beginning of the world	the sky was very low and the world was too sunny		TEXT

("Beginning...Cont'd)

	The place where the people lived was under the trees and they went to work when it was a moonlit night	because the sun was very hot,	RESULT
	And Lali got angry	because the sky was low.	

EXAMPLE 85

The next Itneg example is more regular:

Figure Ground$_2$

"Diyam", Para. 7

But everytime the light went out she dipped in again, she dipped her bamboo tube into the rice which they had pounded.		TEXT
They didn't see	because the fire died which was flickering	RESULT
Always it was like that.		TERM

EXAMPLE 86

As with the REASON tagmeme so also with the RESULT tagmeme the Sentence Margin which figures in the paraphrase may be omitted:

Figure Ground$_2$

Tagabili Supp. Para., Ex. 16

We started out riding a truck, they said we were going to ride a boat.		TEXT
Truly I had seen a boat many times but I had never ridden one.		EXPO
That's another reason why my breath was fearful.	ϕ	RESULT

EXAMPLE 87

3.4 The WARNING tagmeme.

An EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH may also contain a WARNING tagmeme--although this tagmeme is more frequently encountered in HORTATORY than in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS.

A WARNING tagmeme is structurally similar to the last variety of REASON tagmeme described under 3.2. In two successive sentences, the Figure of the first sentence (TEXT) is brought down with β value as the Ground (Conditional Margin) of the second (WARNING). The Figure of the sentence which expounds WARNING is novel material. If that sentence contains a postposed Cause Margin, then the Cause Margin echoes the lexical content of the preposed Conditional Margin.

The following example is Tagabili:

Ground$_1$	Figure	
	They say "There's the star; it might see it"	TEXT
If the star sees the food wrappers in the field	it says, "There, they've already eaten what they've planted."	WARNING

EXAMPLE 88

The context of these sentences makes clear that the real import of the first sentence is 'They don't want the star to see it.' This is reversed in the Conditional Margin of the second sentence: 'If the star does see the food wrappers in the field...' The material in the Figure of the second sentence is new and has no parallel in the preceding or following sentences.

Similarly in the following example there is a reversal of positive-negative values from TEXT to Conditional Margin of the WARNING and novel material in the Figure of the latter:

S. Bilaan, Text 9, Para. 1

We Bilaan, when a child is born	then the placenta is born too before the cord is cut; but if... the placenta has not been born...the cord isn't cut.	TEXT
Because, if [you] don't wait until the placenta has been born [before the cord is cut]	then it will be difficult at birth.	WARN

EXAMPLE 89

3.5 Mutual Relations of these (nuclear) tagmemes.

The mutual relations of TEXT, EXPO, REASON, and RESULT (with lesser attention to WARNING which is comparatively rare in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS) deserve some comment.

The sequence TEXT, REASON, and RESULT apparently occurs in the following example:

Ground$_1$ · Figure Ground$_2$

Dibababawon, "Father's Last Illness", Para. 3

After we had all been staying here in Magsompaw for a long time	he thought of having you, Maam, help with regard to his sickness.	∅	TEXT
	We children had tried to get help for a long time [but] since we were poor, we kids weren't able to do anything.		REASON
	That's why we were so glad about you-all living among us here in Magsompaw,	because no matter what Father's difficulty relative to his sickness, you could help us, even to your taking Father, Maam, there to Nasuli, the place where you live....	RESULT

EXAMPLE 90

It appears that the second sentence above is meant to expound a REASON tagmeme. We can imagine such a Cause Margin on sentence 1 (TEXT) as 'because we children weren't able to do anything for him'. Or alternatively, the supplying of a word 'because' on sentence 2 and the transformation of that whole sentence into a Cause Margin of sentence 1 can be envisioned with equal ease. That Cause Margins of considerable length and complexity occur is illustrated in the third sentence of this paragraph and well-documented for the various other languages. The third sentence clearly expresses RESULT in that the TEXT 'he thought of having you help, Maam, in regard to his sickness' is paraphrased in the Cause Margin of sentence 3 as: 'No matter what Father's difficulty relative to his sickness, you could help us....' Here RESULT is a paraphrase operation carried out on the words of the TEXT.

A further possible example of this tagmeme sequence is from Tausug. The context makes clear that the nul items and links supplied are appropiate because the passage in question is followed by 'When mother was in this pitiable state she still had small children. For forty days she didn't have any place to stay because the house was burned down.'

"Salip Amirul", Para. 12

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
At the time when he deserted me...at the time Father divorced us	Mother was to be pitied	0	TEXT
	[because] Father even went so far as to burn the house down.		REASON
	Now Mother really didn't have any place to stay.	0	RESULT

EXAMPLE 91

In this putative example of these three tagmemes in sequence RESULT is a paraphrase operation carried out not on the words of the TEXT but on the words of the sentence which expounds REASON. Nevertheless, the words of the sentence which expounds REASON are assumed to be a paraphrase of some nul material (supplied Cause Margin) in the TEXT itself. For this reason it seems plausible that the second and third sentences do not constitute an embedded paragraph but that all three sentences are on the same layer of immediate constituent structure. Note, furthermore, that the Figure of sentence 3 is not dissimilar from the Figure of sentence 1; 'was to be pitied' is more generic while 'didn't have any place to stay' is more specific as to her plight. Actually, sentence 3 could legitimately be considered to be an EXPO tagmeme rather than a RESULT. Symbolizing the paraphrase operation as X, we formulate: REASON X RESULT = EXPO, i.e. to perform the operation RESULT paraphrase on a REASON obtains a structure which is equivalent to the starting point of the paragraph, viz. an exposition (EXPO) of the TEXT. This is not true, however, when the paraphrase operations for REASON and RESULT are each carried out on the words of the TEXT itself as in our first example above.

We do not have in our present composite corpus in various Philippine languages an example of TEXT, RESULT, REASON with both the latter two tagmemes paraphrase operations on the words of the TEXT itself. Conceivably, however, such an example as the following is possible:

(Hypothetical)

Figure	Ground$_2$	
John was completely exhausted	because he had studied all night and taken final exams the next day.	TEXT
He slept for sixteen hours	because he was utterly worn out.	RESULT
After all, he had gone 24 hours without touching a bed.		REASON

EXAMPLE 92

In this tailor-made example, RESULT is a paraphrase carried out on the Figure of the TEXT and REASON is a paraphrase carried out on its Ground. Both, therefore, fit the specifications for these two tagmemes.

In our corpus in the various languages there are possible examples of TEXT, RESULT, REASON in which the third is a paraphrase carried out on the second. In every such case, these might better be considered to be sequences of TEXT, RESULT, EXPO.

The first example is Maranao:

"Red Star over Islam", Para. 3

Figure	Ground$_2$	
Communism is afraid of Islam.		TEXT
The Communists attack Islam	because they fear it as their most fearful enemy.	RESULT
They fear Islam	because it is the second largest religion in Russia.	EXPO

"Red Star..." Cont'd

They fear Islam	because it believes in all things that the Communists hate...	EXPO
They fear Islam	Because it has spread beyond national boundaries....	EXPO

EXAMPLE 93

Note in the example that the material of the Figure of the TEXT is shunted to the Ground$_2$ in the RESULT, then shunted back to the Figures of the following sentences. This automatically makes the material of the Figures of sentences 3 and following to be paraphrastically allied to that of the Figure of the TEXT itself. In such circumstances, sentence 3 and following might better be considered to consittute a sequence of EXPO than of REASON tagmemes.

Therefore, again symbolizing the paraphrase operation as X, we formalize: RESULT X REASON = EXPO, i.e. to perform a REASON paraphrase on a RESULT is to obtain a paraphrase of the TEXT itself, viz. an EXPO.

Basic to the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH is flow through parallelism. In a TEXT followed by one or more EXPO tagmemes the flow is from sentence to sentence--either without distinguishing Figure from Ground or with flow from Figure to Figure and Ground to Ground. When a REASON tagmeme intervenes the flow is from the postposed Ground$_2$ (of TEXT-EXPO) towards the Figure (of the REASON). When a RESULT intervenes, the flow is from the figure (of TEXT-EXPO) into the postposed Ground$_2$ of the REASON); in the latter case novel lexical material may come in in the Figure. One further variety of REASON represents a more radical treatment of the lexical stuff in that there is a simultaneous flow both from Figure (of TEXT-EXPO) to the preposed Ground$_1$ (of REASON) and also from the postposed Ground$_2$ (of TEXT-EXPO) to the Figure (of REASON). This simultaneous down and leftward flow is accompanied by a β reversal of the α values of the original TEXT-EXPO. Even more radical is WARNING tagmeme in which there is flow from Figure to preposed Ground$_1$ with β reversal and introduction of a novel Figure.

TEXT and EXPO are in equivalence (paraphrase) relation. Ground$_2$ (of TEXT) and REASON; TEXT and Ground$_2$ (of RESULT) are in similar equivalence relation. Either REASON subject to RESULT paraphrase or RESULT subject to REASON paraphrase yields an EXPO which is again equivalent to the TEXT. REASON and RESULT are, therefore, mathematical inverses. The special variety of RESULT with β reversal almost qualifies as an INVERSE of TEXT and we are on the way to demonstrating CLOSURE like that found in a mathematical group. WARNING, however, does not appear to be an inverse of any other tagmeme. Furthermore, under proper conditions TEXT, REASON, RESULT (and possibly even TEXT, RESULT, REASON) occur without the latter multiplying out to EXPO.

3.6 Peripheral tagmemes of EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS.

3.6.1 PRELIMINARY AND TERMINUS TAGMEMES.

In the above sections no attention has been paid to PRELIMINARY (PRELIM) and TERMINUS (TERM) tagmemes. The former is not greatly different from SETTING in NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS.

The following four examples are intended primarily to exemplify the PRELIM tagmeme--although the second also illustrates TERMINUS:

Tagabili, Supp. Para. Ex. 15 "My Going to Manila"

We spent a half hour on the way (to where we were going).	PRELIM
The road was very good, completely cement.	TEXT
It was quiet even while the bus was going.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 94

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 14

Figure	Ground$_2$	
The place where they get this ulof (charm) I was speaking of is from a dead person they have put in a shelter.		PRELIM
If a person wants to make ulof he just waits until they put a dead person in a shelter but it's not good if anyone knows what he is doing.	ø	TEXT
It is taboo it is said.		REASON
The place they put the dead person is far from the house because it smells.		TERM

EXAMPLE 95

Sarangani Bilaan, "The Marriage of Ginong and Nini", Para. 7

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
One day before, in the month of December, there was a big party at the beach.			PRELIM
	Almost all the people upstream came down to the beach	because they wanted to see all the different... games....	TEXT
	Even↓I was↓ there too... get together with my companions.		EXPO

EXAMPLE 96

Sarangani Bilaan, "The Marriage of Ginong and Nini", Para. 3

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
Now the days and the nights moved on of our liking each other.			PRELIM
	It was very difficult	because my parents did not like him.	TEXT
	And during one year we only talked..twice	↘because it was very difficult.	RESULT

EXAMPLE 97

Two further examples exemplify TERMINAL:

Tagabili, "Burial Customs", Para. 2

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	The reason they make a coffin and have the death watch when a person dies they say	so that all the family can see him.	TEXT
If there are relatives far away who really loved him, like in-laws or other mothers and fathers,	they have the ↓ death watch	so that they ↓ can all visit him.	EXPO

("Burial Customs" Cont'd)

When they arrive	they always try to slash their wrists or threaten suicide when they are about to take the body away.	TERM

EXAMPLE 98

Figure Ground$_2$

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 1

The place where the Tagabili live is south of Cotabato to Sinolon, Sebu until you reach Kaimba.		TEXT
They live mostly in the mountains	because that is where they make their fields in order to make a living.	EXPO
There are maybe about 30,000 of these people.		TERM

EXAMPLE 99

3.6.2 Preterminal SPEECH tagmeme.

In Itneg, Charles Walton posits a SPEECH tagmeme which occurs preterminal in the EXPLANATORY tagmeme. Presumably this tagmeme SP_0 (lexically a Remark) is peripheral here as well as in Itneg NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH where it is specifically declared to be peripheral. I reproduce here the four examples cited by Walton of SP_0 in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS in that it may prove that this feature is relevant to other languages besides Itneg:

"Kabonyan", Para. 44

They bid goodbye and Banabanan distributed animals to those relatives.	TEXT
He gave gifts to those who ridiculed them when they were still poor.	EXPO
Those inconsiderate to them were given animals to take.	EXPO
And those who were kind were given gifts of gold because of the mercy of Kabonyan.	EXPO
"I give you rewards, you who have come here to see us," said Banabanan.	SP_0(Remark)
And all the people went.	TERM

EXAMPLE 100

"Kabonyan", Para. 7

Figure	Ground$_2$	
She gave him three scoops of crumbs.		TEXT
It was food fit for a dog, not food fit for a person what she gave him.		EXPO
Oh, yes, the child cried.	(because of what she gave)	RESULT
"Oh, yes, no one wants to give food," said the child		SP_0 (Remark)
He ran away with the food that the woman gave for carrying water.		TERM

EXAMPLE 101

"Gaygayoma", Para. 8

He saw their food, they chewed (betal chew)	TEXT
Their betel nut was a man's head.	EXPO
Their lime was a man's brain.	EXPO
Their pepper leaf was a man's palm.	EXPO
Their pepper stick was a man's thumb.	EXPO
"Oh my! they eat people, it's not so that they are human then," he said.	SP_0

EXAMPLE 102

"Gaygayoma", Para. 9

And the beautiful girl, he saw her food.	TEXT
She ate rice and her viand was fish.	EXPO
"There is the same kind of person as I am," he said.	SP_0 (Remark)

EXAMPLE 103

3.7 Embedding in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS.

Probably the most frequent sort of embedding within EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS is RECURSIVE, i.e. EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH expounding some tagmeme of a more inclusive EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. There are, however, certain restrictions on the tagmemic structure of embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. Thus, if our reasoning and observations in the previous section are correct the following structures should not occur: (1) A TEXT REASON sequence in which REASON is expounded by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH consisting of TEXT RESULT; and (2) a

TEXT RESULT sequence in which RESULT is expounded by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH consisting of TEXT REASON. As we have shown, (1) resolves into a string structure consisting of TEXT REASON EXPO; and (2) resolves into a similar string consisting of TEXT RESULT EXPO.

In the following Tagabili example; the outermost layer in the paragraph consists of TEXT REASON EXPO. REASON is expounded by an embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH that consists of TEXT WARNING. WARNING is, in turn, expounded by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH that consists of TEXT RESULT:

Supp. Para. Ex. 17, "Making a Field"

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
When they finish eating	what they do, they hide the food wrappers.	ϕ	TEXT
	They say, "There's the star it might see it."		REASON:EX.PARA TEXT
If the star sees the food wrappers in the field	it says, "There, they've already eaten what they've planted."		WARN:EX.PARA TEXT
	What the star does, it goes fast.	ϕ	RESULT
	What they do with the food wrappers, they hide them in the field.		EXPO

EXAMPLE 104

Doris Porter states that nuclear tagmemes of the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH may be expounded by not only EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS but by HORTATORY and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS as well. The large tree graph (DIAGRAM 6) of a Tagabili PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH in Sec. 2.7 illustrates not only the embedding of EXPLANATORY within PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS but also the embedding of PROCEDURAL within EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. Thus, on two separate layers of paragraph structure occur EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS whose EXPO tagmemes are expounded by PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS.

Blackburn and McLachlin state that EXPLANATORY, PROCEDURAL, and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS may expound certain nuclear tagmemes in the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS. Embedded DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS probably consist of SPEECH$_1$(QUESTION) and SPEECH$_3$(ANSWER), in which rhetorical question and its answer are used for attention-getting and emphasis. Note the following Maranao example in which REASON is expounded by a simple DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH:

"Red Star Over Islam", Para. 1

In 30 years the descendants of Islam were made to suffer one of the worst sufferings that no other were made to suffer.	TEXT
They were killed, they were made to suffer pain, they were enslaved.	EXPO
Why did this happen?	REASON:DIAL.PARA Question
Their crime was that they cannot be forced to abandon their faith, follow the faith of the Communists who have no God.	Answer

EXAMPLE 105

3.8 COORDINATE EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS.

COORDINATE EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS contain more than one TEXT yet the two TEXT tagmemes are not in a relation of antithesis. A common PRELIM and TERM may occur as well. The following example is from Sarangani Bilaan:

"Bilaan Customs", Para. 9

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
When they're newly married, first they live at the home of the girl's parents.			PRELIM
Now is (ku) it's been a long time that they haven't visited the boy's parents and if... returning...to girl's parents	then they bring much food and viand,	because (du) ...ceremony of "returning food" to the parents.	SEC.I:EX.PARA TEXT
So if (du ku) having arrived... parents of the girl	they also give skirts and if not that then a dress	because (du) ...ceremony of "shaking out ashes" for them.	SEC.II:EX.PARA TEXT
That was a custom of the old people a long time ago.			TERM

EXAMPLE 106

In that one or both TEXT tagmemes is commonly accompanied by some other tagmeme of the simple paragraph, a consistent view of the COORDINATE EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH considers that it is a coordination of paragraphs into a higher-layered paragraph. For this reason we consider that the nucleus of a COORDINATE EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH consists of two or more SECTIONS each expounded by a simple EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. It is not incorrect, when a SECTION is expounded by a single sentence, to state that its exponent is a sentence. It is, however, somewhat more consistent to say that such a SECTION is expounded by a paragraph which consists of but one sentence.

The following Tagabili example has neither common PRELIM or TERM, but two SECTIONS are parallel and seem to go together:

Supp. Para., Ex. 19, "Birth"

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
Another thing, if a visitor comes	they always give the pregnant woman either a ring, a bell for jewelry or anything else they want to give.	(so that the child will hurry and be born).	**SEC.I:EX.PARA TEXT**
(If they don't give a present) ↙ β	they say that's why the child doesn't hurry and be born ↙ β	because he is embarrassed before the visitor.	**REASON**
Or if the child has already been born	they also give, they say so that he'll grow big.		**SEC.II:EX.PARA TEXT**
If they don't give to him ↙ β	it is said it is taboo.		**WARN**

EXAMPLE 107

Again, parallelism of SECTIONS characterizes the following Tagabili examples. Each SECTION is expounded by a paragraph which contains its own TERM. TERM in the second sub-paragraph is expounded by an embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH.

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 35

Another place where dead people go, if he dies from being murdered, he goes to Kayung.	**SEC.I:EX.PARA TEXT**
Also a person who has been shot.	**EXPO**
It's a place where everything is red.	**EXPO**
When there is a rainbow they say it is the steps for a murdered person because Kayung is up above.	**TERM**
They treat you well there.	**SEC.II:EX.PARA TEXT**
When you arrive they welcome you, they play the klintang (graduated gongs) and they feed you well.	**EXPO**
When there is a rumble from above they say a person has been murdered.	**TERM:EX.PARA TEXT**
When it rains and the clouds look yellow they say it is a sign under the feet of a murdered person, especially if there is a rainbow.	**EXPO**

EXAMPLE 108

Doris Porter posits that a COORDINATE EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH has SECTION I expounded by a simple EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH but that SECTION II may be expounded not only by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH but by HORTATORY and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS as well. Whether the resulting structure, when it is a coordination of EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY or PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPH, should be called a "COORDINATE EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH" is open to question. Possibly we need to set up a COORDINATE PARAGRAPH type that embraces various simple types but belongs to no one type as such. In the Tagabili example which follows an EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPH are coordinated:

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 19

Ground	Figure	
Before the war	there was no peace among the Tagabili.	SEC.I:SIM.EX.PARA TEXT
	There was always fighting even over tiny matters.	EXPO
	They would put curses on people at night.	EXPO
	They would capture children.	EXPO
	Bows and arrows is what they used to fight.	TERM
Other Tagabili, even today	they are always fighting.	SEC.II:HORT.PARA PRELIM
If they don't know you	don't go among them	EXHOR
(If you do) β	they will cut off your head.	WARN

EXAMPLE 109

The following Atta Negrito COORDINATE PARAGRAPH (from a letter) has four SECTIONS, two of which are expounded by minimal paragraphs which consist of single sentences:

School closed for the children last Thursday and Friday.	SEC.I:EX.PARA TEXT
For Uneng they had the last class on Thursday; that was their graduation.	EXPO
As for Antsing's class, Friday was their closing.	EXPO
As for those with Sister Aligay, they've now returned to their homes last Sunday.	SEC.II:EX.PARA TEXT
There are three children with me, Marina, Ana, and Uling.	SEC.III:EX.PARA TEXT
As for Uling, he will go soon, if his mother comes soon.	EXPO
As for Catalino, he didn't pass because he didn't go to school, and that's the reason he hasn't passed.	SEC.IV:EX.PARA TEXT

EXAMPLE 110

3.9 ANTITHETICAL EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS.

ANTITHETICAL EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS likewise contain two TEXT tagmemes. They are opposed to each other; and an adversative particle, if not present, could be supplied at the onset of the second section of the paragraph. Each TEXT is considered to be the core of a subparagraph so that the constituent parts of the nucleus of an ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH are SECTION (SEC) and COUNTER-SECTION ($\overline{\text{SEC}}$). It is considered that the presence of the adversative does not in itself make the whole paragraph one long *Antithetical Sentence*--since this involves implausible length and an inordinate amount of back-looping (whole paragraphs expounding sentence level tagmemes). It is simpler to consider that in most languages a word such as 'but' can occur both internally within a sentence and initially--where it tags its sentence as initial in some paragraph or discourse level antithesis (cf. chap.I.8.3 and II.4.2).

Nevertheless, ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPHS with each section expounded by a one-paragraph sentence are improbable in most languages here considered--especially if a word 'but' introduces the second sentence. Typically, an *Antithetical Sentence* has optional final pause before the adversative 'but'. It is likely then, that a so-called ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH consisting of but two sentences is really one grammatical sentence with the antithesis expressed on the sentence rather than on the paragraph level. For this reason Doris Porter states: "Either SECTION or $\overline{\text{SECTION}}$ must be expounded by a paragraph."

The following Tagabili examples are typical:

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 19, Sec.III

A long time ago the Tagabili would even trade people.	SEC:EX.PARA TEXT
My grandfather, he bought many people and he sold many, too.	EXPO
But these days they don't do that anymore.	$\overline{\text{SEC}}$:EX.PARA TEXT
The bad things they used to do like murder, trading people, putting curses, kidnapping, stealing, they don't do anymore because of the law.	EXPO
There isn't much murder among the Tagabili anymore.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 111

"Tagabili Customs", Para. 22

Child marriages, there are those among the Tagabili.	PRELIM
Marriage doesn't start with the children, only with the parents.	TEXT
If the parents want it, even if the child doesn't they just go ahead with it.	EXPO
They aren't interested in the looks of the boy or the girl either.	EXPO:ANTI.EX.PARA SEC
They look at industriousness, good character, generosity, and if they love their in-laws.	$\overline{\text{SEC}}$:EX.PARA TEXT
An industrious person among the Tagabili, even if he doesn't go around looking for a girl, one will just find him.	RESULT:EX.PARA TEXT
A pretty girl will just come to you if you are a good person because that's what the in-laws want, a boy they can depend on to take care of them.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 112

In this last example the ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH expounds an EXPO tagmeme. The SECTION can be considered expounded by a single sentence or by a minimal EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH consisting only of a TEXT. The former explanation gives a simpler tree structure; the latter makes possible a consistent statement that in the ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH, there are opposed subparagraphs--so that the opposed structures are of the same rank.

I reproduce an Itneg example from Walton with two important notes that he appends at the bottom of the presentation diagram. The first note tells us that TEXT and REASON occur in permuted linear order. The second note reflects an assumption--nowhere explicitly stated in the papers underlying this report but occasionally voiced in the course of the research--that the two TEXT tagmemes of SECTION and $\overline{\text{SECTION}}$ should transform to a plausible Antithetical Sentence. Thus, if we abstract sentences 1 and 4 and thus transform them we get 'The Mainits descended, they probed for him like an eel all around the waterfall; but they could not probe him because when they poked in with the end of their spears there was a stone that they poked.' Apparently, however, sentence 1 plus sentence 3 is not considered by Walton to make as good an antithesis. Therefore, sentence 3 is considered to expound REASON permuted out of linear order while sentence 4 expounds TEXT. As far as linkage mechanisms go, sentence 3 could expound a TEXT while sentence 4 could expound RESULT.

"Siddayaw", Para. 14

Figure	Ground$_2$	
The Mainits descended, they probed for him like an eel all around the waterfall.		EXPL.PARA TEXT
There was none they did not probe.		EXPO
He covered himself with a large flat stone.		EXPL.PARA REASON
They could not probe him.	because when they poked in with the end of their spears, there was the stone that they poked.	TEXT

Note:
1. The TEXT tagmeme in the COUNTER-SECTION ($\overline{\text{SEC}}$) is permuted to final position.
2. The two TEXT tagmemes can be transformed into a single Antithetical Sentence.

EXAMPLE 113

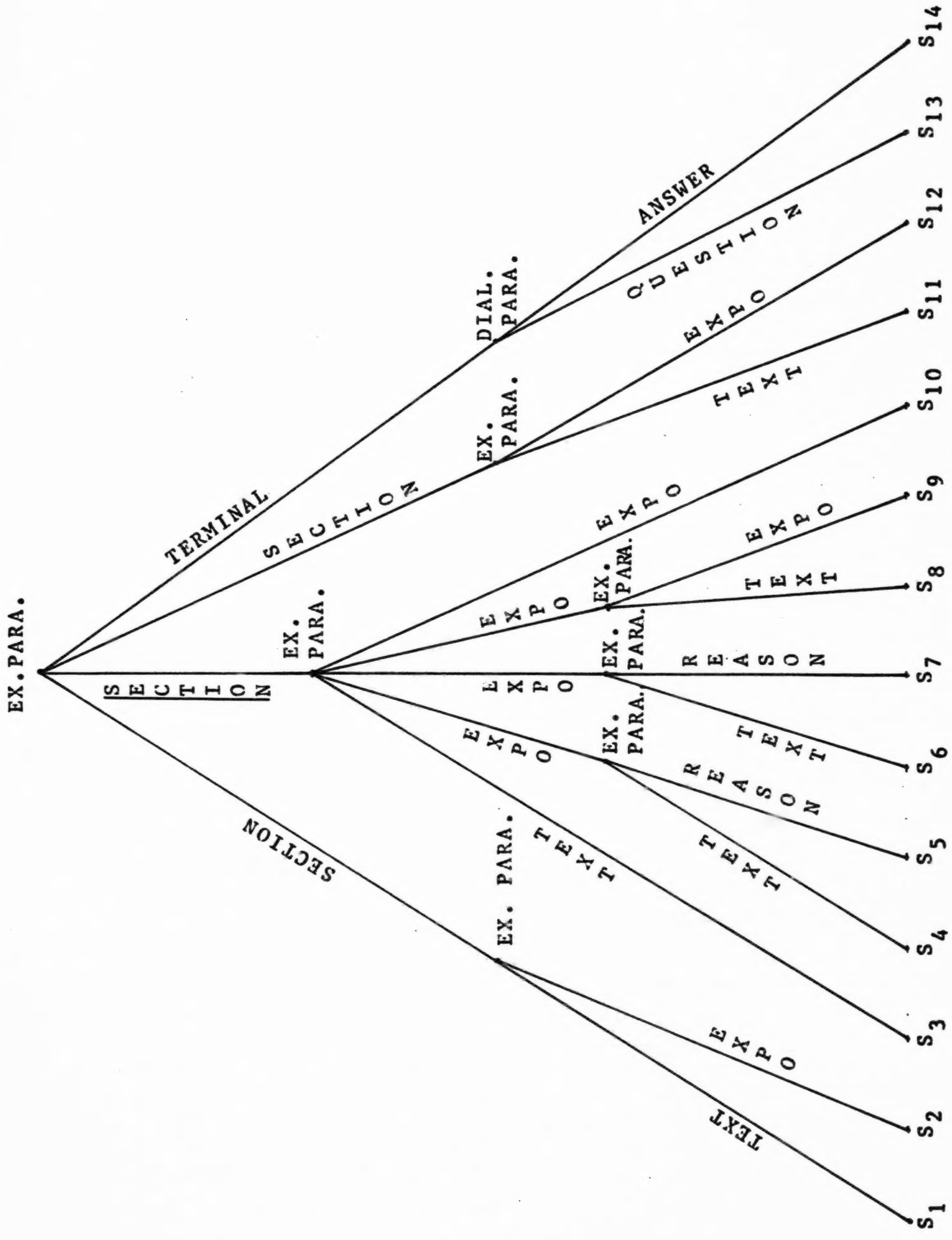
The final example of ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPH is from the Tausug text "Salip Amirul". Parts of this paragraph have been presented before in exemplifying varieties of REASON tagmemes (Examples 77,78). We here present the whole. In sentence 11 and following we apparently have a recapitulation of the SECTION. This is obtained by performing, in effect, an operation $\overline{\text{SEC}}$ upon a previous $\overline{\text{SEC}}$ so that $\overline{\text{SEC}}$ X $\overline{\text{SEC}}$ = SEC, i.e. the initial starting point of the paragraph. There is, in fact, a peculiar linkage between sentence 10 and 11. The latter sentence is really a paraphrase of the preposed Concessive Margin in the former sentence. But Concessive Margins are implicitly antithetical. Thus in sentence 3 the Concessive Margin 'even if a child of the King' refers to the SECTION which precedes it while the balance of that sentence introduces the $\overline{\text{SECTION}}$. So in sentence 10 the Concessive Margin anticipates the wording of the (recapitulated) SECTION which follows while the balance of the sentence simply expounds the $\overline{\text{SECTION}}$ of which it is the last sentence.

The usual sort of presentation diagram below is followed with a tree graph of this example. In its peculiarly intricate structure this paragraph exemplifies many points made in this section and forms a fitting climax to the presentation of EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS.

"Salip Amirul", Para. 8

	Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
S$_1$		Listen, these people in old times were the famous ones in the land of Jolo, they were the rulers of Jolo.		SEC TEXT
S$_2$		They were numbers like lice	their ancestor was the king named...	EXPO
S$_3$	But even if a child of a king....	if none now, if he's deserted by his father, what can one say?		~~SEC~~ TEXT
S$_4$		He's not able to care for himself that's why they are in the shape they are in now.	∅	EXPO:EX.PARA TEXT
S$_5$		They have no schooling.		REASON
S$_6$		They have no part with other people,	because why?	EXPO:EX.PARA TEXT
S$_7$		Because they have no schooling.		REASON
S$_8$		Their power has been taken by other people,	because why shouldn't it be taken away?	EXPO:EX.PARA TEXT
S$_9$		They have no schooling, for example.		EXPO
S$_{10}$	Although from the first they have high lineage	they are the lowest ones...		EXPO
S$_{11}$		That means that from Spanish times they were the ones bearing their homeland, so great were they.		SEC TEXT
S$_{12}$		That's right they have an affidavit that there are plenty of this lineage; but they have no schooling.		EXPO
S$_{13}$		How can he get back his homeland, how can they get their rights?		TERM:DIAL.PARA QUES.
S$_{14}$		None, now!		ANS.

EXAMPLE 114

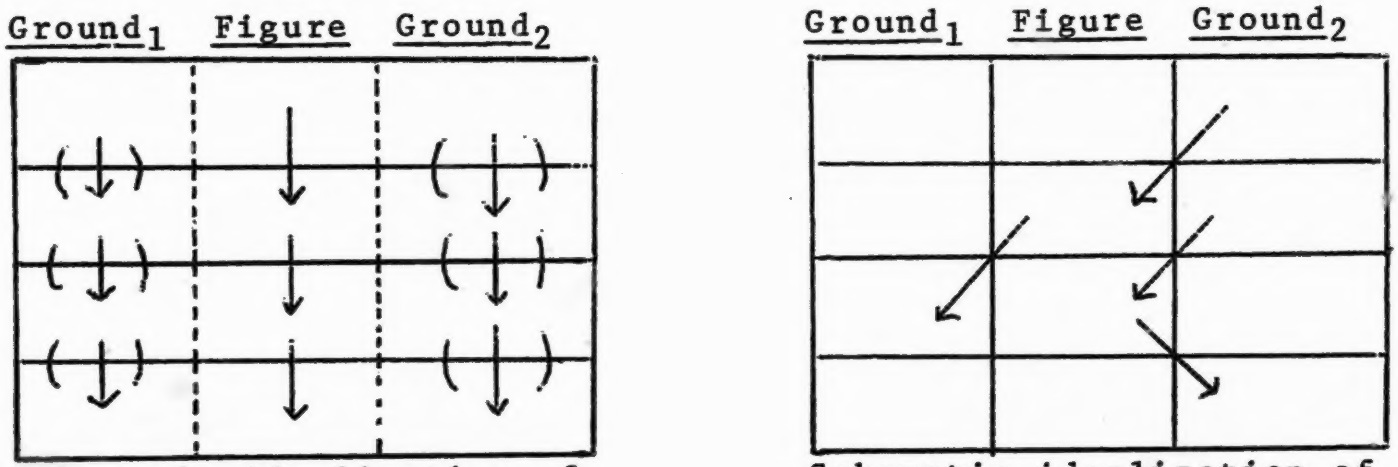

EX.PARA.
TERMINAL
SECTION
SECTION
SECTION
DIAL. PARA.
ANSWER
QUESTION
EX. PARA.
EXPO
TEXT
EX. PARA.
EXPO
EXPO
EX. PARA.
EXPO
TEXT
EXPO
EX. PARA.
REASON
EX. PARA.
TEXT
EXPO
EX. PARA.
REASON
TEXT
EX. PARA.
TEXT
EXPO
TEXT
S1
S2
S3
S4
S5
S6
S7
S8
S9
S10
S11
S12
S13
S14

Tree Graph of TAUSUG ANTITHETICAL EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH

DIAGRAM 11

4 HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS are similar to EXPLANATORY but differ from them in the following respects: (1) In the tagmemes which correspond to TEXT and EXPO--called EXHORTATION (EXHOR) and REINFORCEMENT (REINF) in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS--some sort of command, request, advise, suggestion, or plea is found; or some euphemistic substitute for a command; or a rhetorical question with similar intent. The second person is used, first person inclusive of second person, or a third person cohortative. Verb forms are non-past. (2) A further difference is expressed well by Shirley Abbot: "While the flow of the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH is mainly through the Figure (with some 'detours' or 'eddies'), the flow of the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH is not chiefly through the Figure, but rather makes frequent use of the margins. In the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH, therefore, we find more extensive use of REASON, RESULT, and WARNING tagmemes." Thus, while the most typical structure in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS is a TEXT EXPO$_1$...EXPO$_n$ string (in which the EXPO's are paraphrases of the TEXT), the typical structure of a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH is EXHOR followed by such tagmemes as REASON, and WARNING which are paraphrases involving the sentence margins (Cause, Purpose, and Conditional Margins)--although the EXHOR may be paraphrased by a REINF. Thus, an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH tends toward the simple ideal symbolized in sketch (a) below while the HORTATORY approximates something on the order of sketch (b). Ground$_1$ is the slot where Temporal and Conditional Margins typically occur; while Ground$_2$ is the slot for Cause and Purpose Margins.



Schematic idealization of an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. (The flow of paraphrase is primarily through the Figure or through undifferentiated Ground-Figure).

Schematic idealization of HORTATORY PARAGRAPH. (Paraphrase operations shunt lexical material from Figure to Ground or Ground to Figure).

DIAGRAM 12

The reason for the greater exploitation of sentence margins in the HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS than in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS ties in squarely with the differing purposes of the two. EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH and EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE in general simply aim at elucidation or clarification. For this purpose, the same idea is repeated with lexical variation and additional details. HORTATORY PARAGRAPH, like HORTATORY DISCOURSE in general, aims at influencing conduct. While an exhortation may be repeated and paraphrased for emphasis, appeal through motivation is more effective. Hence reasons are adduced, consequences traced out, and warnings (stepping up to threats) given of the results which may attend failure to heed the exhortation of the speaker. This leads to reliance on Cause, Purpose and Conditional Margins in the structures of the component sentences.

RESULT is documented in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS only for Itneg--although there seems to be no good reason why it should not occur in the other languages. The rarity of RESULT in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS versus the comparative ease with which it is documented in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS is somewhat at odds with the above characterization of the contrasting features of the two paragraph types. While EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS exploit sentence margins less frequently and consistently than do HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS, yet the former contain a tagmeme which by definition exploits a sentence margin but which is difficult to document in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

For Itneg, Charles Walton suggests the following further difference between EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS: "There is a different kind of embedding in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. The tagmemes of a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH are usually expounded by sentences with only a few instances of paragraphs as exponents. The embedding that does occur in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS is usually found in the margins of the sentences which expound the paragraph level tagmemes."

A general formula for HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS is:

±PRELIM +EXHOR ±REINF^n ±REASON ±RESULT ±WARN ±TERM

4.1 Analyzed examples of SIMPLE HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

Analyzed examples of SIMPLE HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS in various languages follow. The EXHOR tagmeme has been variously labelled by my colleagues--sometimes as TEXT^e or TEXT-EXHOR; I reduce these various labels to EXHOR. The REINF tagmeme, likewise has various labels such as EXHOR-EXPO; EXPO-EXHOR; and MOTIVATION; all these I standarize to REINF.

Ata Manobo, "Amasig River", Para. 2

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
If, for example you leave to go down-river	don't have anything to do with the Visayans.	ϕ	EXHOR
	This really is what is the origin of our trouble.		REASON
	Whatever you see, money, material, do not take it, my children.	because I the chief, I advise well.	REINF
If you do not listen	never mind for you (you'll be sorry!)	since I have warned you.	WARN

EXAMPLE 115

Ata Manobo, "Marriage Arrangements", Para. 1

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	Today, the day of engagement talks, this is really with me (my topic).		PRELIM
	However, we will have the engagement talks and we do well to have them.		EXHOR
When we have the engagement talks	we do not force a person.		WARN

EXAMPLE 116

Ata Manobo, "Marriage Arrangements", Para. 12

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
But, if for example you cause gossip about your marriage arrangements	that is what gives rise to trouble.		PRELIM
If, for example you are a child	before you think of making marriage arrangements, all the work should be finished.		EXHOR
	We will be able to finish all the work for an adult; you will know how to do it all.		REINF
However, if you do not know how β	you will not yet make marriage arrangements	because this will be the origin (of your in-laws) making trouble.	WARNING

EXAMPLE 117

The reason for the greater exploitation of sentence margins in the HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS than in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS ties in squarely with the differing purposes of the two. EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH and EXPLANATORY DISCOURSE in general simply aim at elucidation or clarification. For this purpose, the same idea is repeated with lexical variation and additional details. HORTATORY PARAGRAPH, like HORTATORY DISCOURSE in general, aims at influencing conduct. While an exhortation may be repeated and paraphrased for emphasis, appeal through motivation is more effective. Hence reasons are adduced, consequences traced out, and warnings (stepping up to threats) given of the results which may attend failure to heed the exhortation of the speaker. This leads to reliance on Cause, Purpose and Conditional Margins in the structures of the component sentences.

RESULT is documented in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS only for Itneg--although there seems to be no good reason why it should not occur in the other languages. The rarity of RESULT in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS versus the comparative ease with which it is documented in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS is somewhat at odds with the above characterization of the contrasting features of the two paragraph types. While EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS exploit sentence margins less frequently and consistently than do HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS, yet the former contain a tagmeme which by definition exploits a sentence margin but which is difficult to document in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

For Itneg, Charles Walton suggests the following further difference between EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS: "There is a different kind of embedding in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. The tagmemes of a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH are usually expounded by sentences with only a few instances of paragraphs as exponents. The embedding that does occur in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS is usually found in the margins of the sentences which expound the paragraph level tagmemes."

A general formula for HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS is:
±PRELIM +EXHOR ±REINF^n ±REASON ±RESULT ±WARN ±TERM

4.1 Analyzed examples of SIMPLE HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

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Ata Manobo, "Amasig River", Para. 2

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
If, for example you leave to go downriver	don't have anything to do with the Visayans.	ø	EXHOR
	This really is what is the origin of our trouble.		REASON
	Whatever you see, money, material, do not take it, my children.	because I the chief, I advise well.	REINF
If you do not listen	never mind for you (you'll be sorry!)	since I have warned you.	WARN

EXAMPLE 115

Ata Manobo, "Marriage Arrangements", Para. 1

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	Today, the day of engagement talks, this is really with me (my topic).		PRELIM
	However, we will have the engagement talks and we do well to have them.		EXHOR
When we have the engagement talks	we do not force a person.		WARN

EXAMPLE 116

Ata Manobo, "Marriage Arrangements", Para. 12

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
But, if for example you cause gossip about your marriage arrangements	that is what gives rise to trouble.		PRELIM
If, for example you are a child	before you think of making marriage arrangements, all the work should be finished.		EXHOR
	We will be able to finish all the work for an adult; you will know how to do it all.		REINF
However, if you do not know how β	you will not yet make marriage arrangements	because this will be the origin (of your in-laws) making trouble.	WARNING

EXAMPLE 117

"Dulan", Para. 15

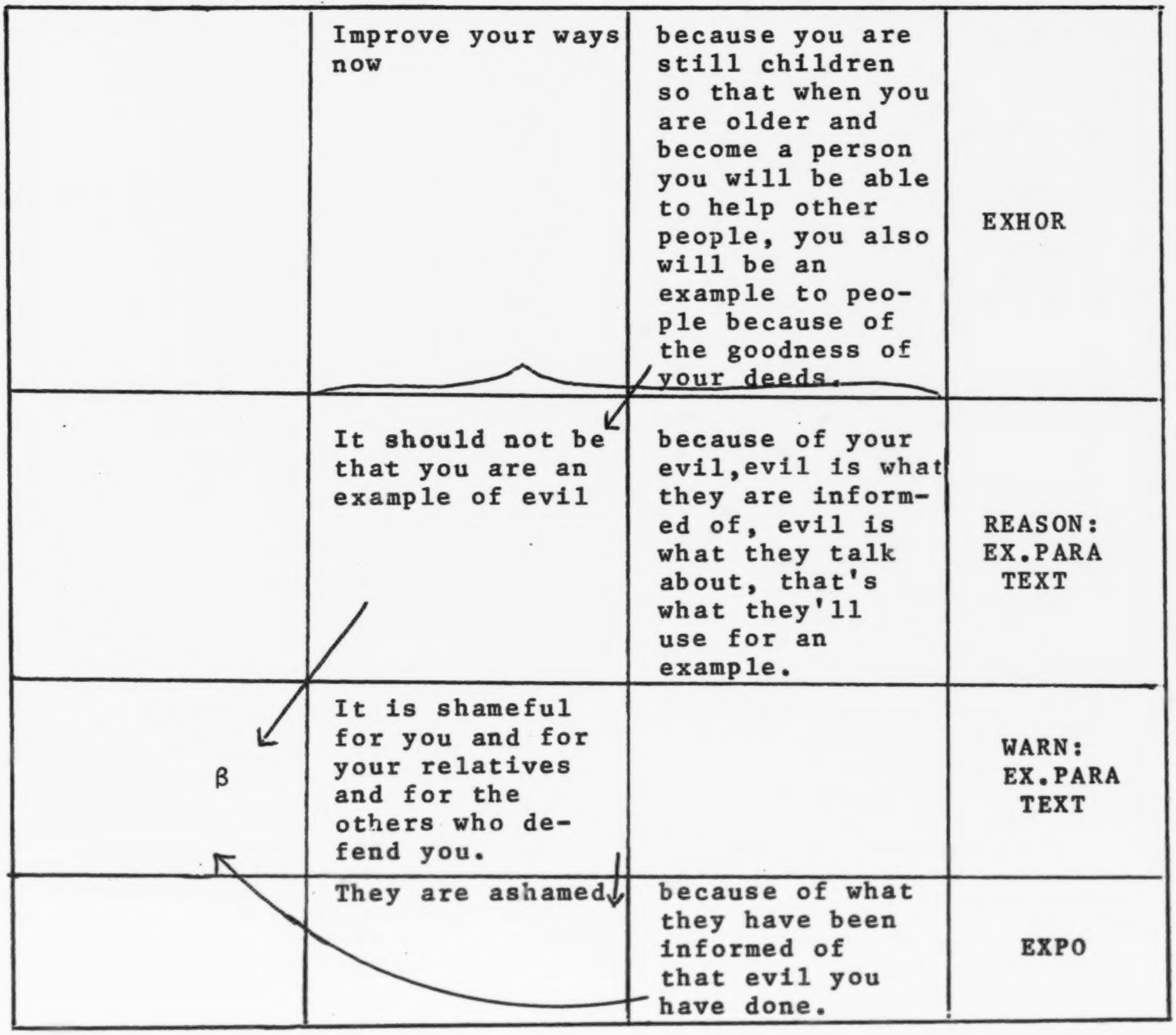
Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
It is sick, no matter who wants to eat it, β	let's not let them eat it β	lest I go to jail.	EXHOR
If you happen to eat the meat of a sick carabao, and the sickness happens to enter your body	then I'll go to jail.	ϕ	REASON:EX.PARA TEXT
β	For it is against the law and against the law of the President.		REASON
If we let people eat the meat of a carabao that is sick and died of an unknown cause	that is a delicate matter.		WARN

EXAMPLE 120

Notice here that while the REASON tagmeme brings down as its Figure the Ground$_2$ of the EXHOR, the Figure of the WARNING is not specifically from the context but uses a generic term (Bilaan dilikado, from Spanish delicado) to indicate the need for caution and prudence. This example also illustrates again how preposed Ground$_1$ in both REASON and WARN can subsume and include reference to both the Ground$_1$ and Figure of the EXHOR.

The following Itneg example is adopted from Charles Walton. He analyzed the last three sentences as a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH consisting of EXHOR, REASON, and RESULT. Aside from the fact that this sequence of tagmemes is suspect (see sec. 3.5) unless both REASON and RESULT are paraphrase operations carried out directly on the EXHOR, this analysis of Walton's failed to recognize the peculiarly tight paraphrase bond between the last two sentences: 'It is shameful for you and your relatives' and 'They are ashamed...' I posit, therefore, one more layer of embedding in which the last two sentences form a paragraph. This example also illustrates a type of paraphrase through antonyms ('be a good example; don't be a bad example') between the Cause Margin of the first sentence and the Figure of the second:

"Manangbow", Para. 10



Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	Improve your ways now	because you are still children so that when you are older and become a person you will be able to help other people, you also will be an example to people because of the goodness of your deeds.	EXHOR
	It should not be that you are an example of evil	because of your evil, evil is what they are informed of, evil is what they talk about, that's what they'll use for an example.	REASON: EX.PARA TEXT
β	It is shameful for you and for your relatives and for the others who defend you.		WARN: EX.PARA TEXT
	They are ashamed	because of what they have been informed of that evil you have done.	EXPO

EXAMPLE 121

Still another Itneg example, illustrates a peculiar structure that Walton describes as follows: "In the Cause Margin of the REINFORCEMENT tagmeme there is an embedded WARNING tagmeme. This is a portmanteau structure in that it is simultaneously a Cause Margin on the sentence level and a WARNING tagmeme on the paragraph level. Note that the Cause Margin contains an embedded Condition Margin which links to previous material and is followed by new material. This particular text has four examples of this type of structure." In presenting this example I adapt Walton's second diagram in which the material in the diagram is spread out in a bracketed subdiagram to display the relations involved:

"Advice to Newlyweds", Para. 7

Figure	Ground$_2$			
All that is eaten (experienced) by one of you, should be eaten (experienced) by both of you,	because that's the way of a loving marriage.			EXHOR
	Ground$_1$	Figure		
Let us not abandon our spouse	(because) if we abandon them	that's the cause of arguing until you punch your wife.	EXHOR	REINF & WARNING: HORT.PARA
		Let's not punch our wife,Piit!	REINF	

EXAMPLE 122

Walton further comments:

"The Ground of the REINFORCEMENT tagmeme in the above example has several portmanteau functions:

a. It is a Cause Margin on the sentence level.

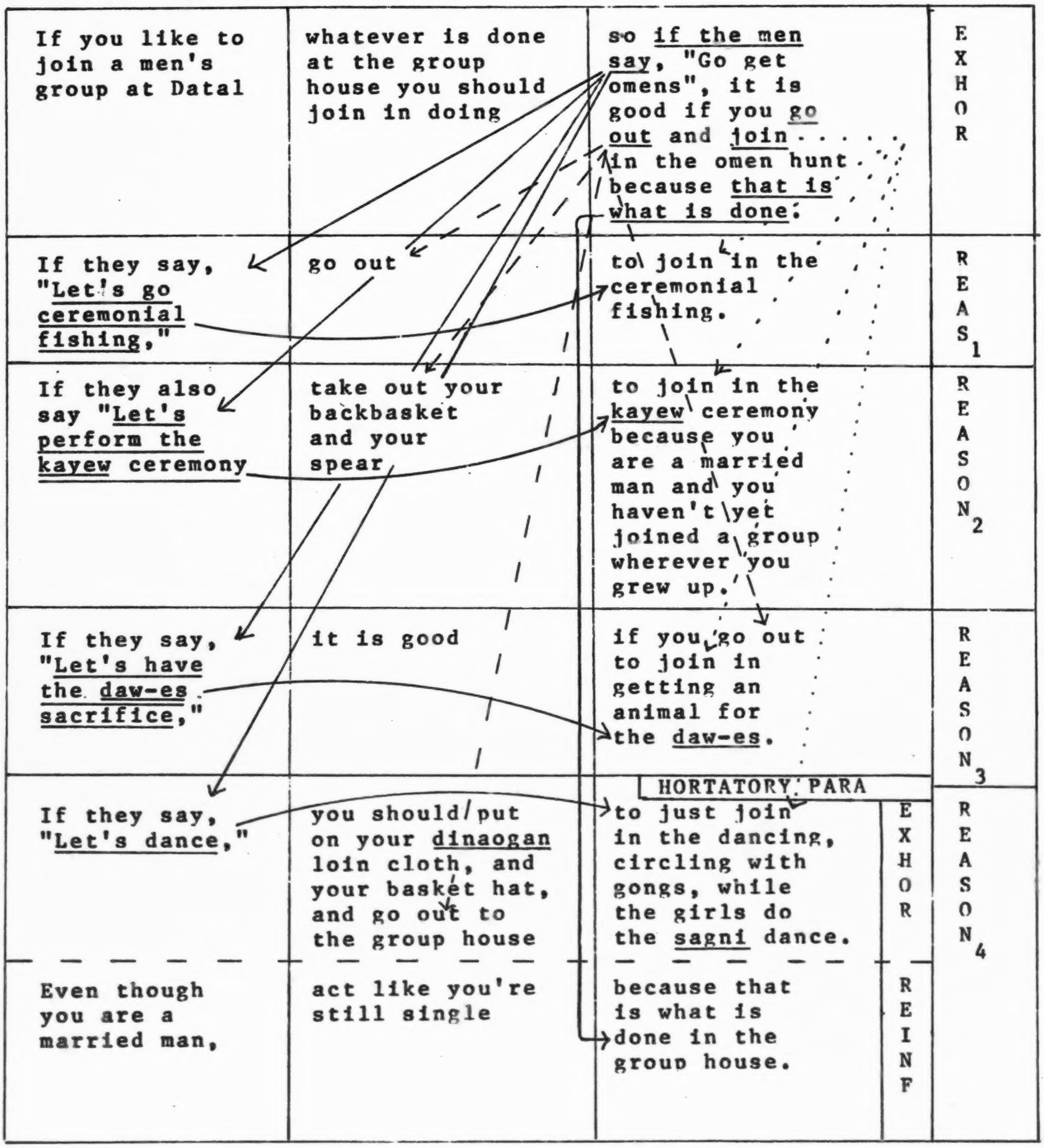
b. It functions as a WARNING tagmeme on the paragraph level because there is a Conditional Margin which paraphrases the preceding Figure which in turn is followed by new material.

c. It functions as an EXHORTATION tagmeme of a paragraph which backloops into Cause Margin. The sentence which follows is a REINFORCEMENT of that EXHORTATION."

In a footnote he comments that the stretch 'That's the cause of arguing until you punch your wife' can be transformed to 'Let's not argue until we punch our wives.' as it would probably be if not embedded in the Cause Margin.

A further variety of REASON tagmeme not exemplified in the section on EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS (Sec. 3) is found in Bontoc HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. In this variety of REASON tagmeme the Purpose Margin (Ground$_2$) of one sentence is paraphrased in the following sentence. This is not surprising in that Cause Margin (the usual source of paraphrase in a following REASON tagmeme) and Purpose Margins are very similar functionally. Note, that in RESULT tagmemes in EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS a preceding sentence is paraphrased as either the Cause Margin or Purpose Margin of the following sentence. Reid however, following my earlier advice had considered the following examples of REASON tagmemes to be RESULT. In the following example and quotation from Reid I change 'RESULT' to 'REASON' everywhere:

"On Joining a Men's Ward", Para. 1



Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$		
If you like to join a men's group at Datal	whatever is done at the group house you should join in doing	so if the men say, "Go get omens", it is good if you go out and join in the omen hunt because that is what is done.		EXHOR
If they say, "Let's go ceremonial fishing,"	go out	to join in the ceremonial fishing.		REASON$_1$
If they also say "Let's perform the kayew ceremony	take out your backbasket and your spear	to join in the kayew ceremony because you are a married man and you haven't yet joined a group wherever you grew up.		REASON$_2$
If they say, "Let's have the daw-es sacrifice,"	it is good	if you go out to join in getting an animal for the daw-es.		REASON$_3$
		HORTATORY PARA		
If they say, "Let's dance,"	you should put on your dinaogan loin cloth, and your basket hat, and go out to the group house	to just join in the dancing, circling with gongs, while the girls do the sagni dance.	EXHOR	REASON$_4$
Even though you are a married man,	act like you're still single	because that is what is done in the group house.	REINF	

EXAMPLE 123

"In Fig. 8 [our Example 123] a HORTATORY PARAGRAPH is presented which contains four REASON tagmemes, each lexically associated with the Purpose Margin (Ground$_2$) of the first sentence, the EXHORTATION. The Purpose Margin consists of an embedded Simple Sentence containing certain structures and lexical items which are echoed by paraphrase in each of the REASON tagmemes."

Although RESULT is rare in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS in most languages, there are undoubted examples of it in Itneg (I do, however, reinterpret Walton's putative sequences of EXHOR REASON RESULT as EXHOR REASON REINF; and EXHOR RESULT REASON as EXHOR RESULT REINF; see 3.5).

"Advice to Newlyweds", Para. 5

Figure	Ground$_2$	
What is necessary is the very best character of marriage, viz. ambitiousness.		EXHOR
There are many who marry who are destroyed	because their custom of marriage is not good.	RESULT
Therefore, all these are advised lest you do these things like are done by some which is the reason for their seperation, it's laziness and always fighting.		REINF

EXAMPLE 124

"Advice to Newlyweds"[8], Para. 9

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	Ganayo (the woman) you'll be taught also (by him) when it is his right.		EXHOR
	It's also like that with you Piit (the man), although your wife is only a woman you'll be taught by her and only her right that you obey her.		REINF
	It's not so that it's your thoughts only that you cause to get hot (angry)	because there is no use to marriage if there is no unity.	RESULT
	Therefore all things are gathered into the nature of marriage, those good ways of marriage.		REINF

EXAMPLE 125

4.2 Conjunctions in the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH

Blackburn and McLachlin indicate in their examples certain Bilaan sentence-initial conjunctions that figure prominently in the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH and DISCOURSE. I discuss here these particles accompanied with some examples of S. Bilaan HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

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[8] Walton considers this paragraph to be EXPLANATORY. It seems to me to be essentially HORTATORY: 'Wife, give in and obey your husband, Husband give in and obey your wife. Have a good marriage.'

The following discussion is based primarily on two short *HORTATORY DISCOURSES* which contain seventeen paragraphs (counting some one-sentence paragraphs which expound some APERTURE and CLOSURE tagmemes of the discourses). Blackburn and McLachlin cite examples, however, which appear to come from two further *HORTATORY DISCOURSES*. All tagmemes of the HORTATORY PARAGRAPH as here presented are illustrated except RESULT--which, according to Blackburn and McLachlin does not occur in any of the *HORTATORY DISCOURSES* yet analyzed.

There are three particles singled out for special discussion by Blackburn and McLachlin: *du* 'because'; and *taman*, *na taman* 'and so'; and *bay* 'but'.

The conjunction *du* 'because' often introduces sentences which expound REASON and WARNING; while *taman* 'and so' often introduces sentences which expound REINF--after intervening REASON or WARNING tagmemes. Both are illustrated in the following examples:

"Advice of Man to His Son", Para. 3

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
When you get out of school at noon	then you immediately come home.		EXHOR
Because (*du*) if continue to stay ...if other children say, "Let's first bathe"	then you are to be pitied	because (*du*) you will be late for lunch.	REASON: HORT.PARA EXHOR
Because (*du*) if you are late eating lunch	that's how you often get sick.		WARN
And so (*taman*) when you get out at noon	then you immediately come home.		REINF

EXAMPLE 126

"Advice of a Man to His Son", Para. 6

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	Don't go with the people who have bad habits.		EXHOR
Because (*du*) if you go...with the people who have bad habits	then you too will have the same habits as those people.		REASON

EXAMPLE 127

The conjunction du 'because' also occurs in the first sentence of an embedded paragraph which expounds REASON--even if the particular sentence in which it occurs expounds some other tagmeme such as TEXT or SECTION in the embedded paragraph itself. Here the dominance of the higher node is decisive. Actually, Example 126 above illustrates this in that sentences 2 and 3 of that paragraph constitute an embedded paragraph that expounds REASON. du 'because' occurs initial in sentence 2 because of the dominance of the higher node--even though that sentence expounds EXHOR in its own paragraph. The second occurrence of du in Example 126 and its occurrence in Example 127 exemplify, however, the occurrence of this conjunction in sentences expounding WARNING and REASON respectively.

The following S. Bilaan example of a rather long HORTATORY PARAGRAPH with considerable embedding exemplifies the conjunctive du in the first sentence of two embedded paragraphs which expound REASON at different levels of embedding. The particle taman 'and so' is also exemplified in its function of introducing a REINF tagmeme after intervening REASON. Here, however, taman occurs on the first sentence of an embedded paragraph that expounds REINF while that sentence is EXHOR within its own paragraph.

Here, again the dominance of the higher node is seen.

"Advice of a Man to His Son", Para. 8

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
	And so (taman) Dong what I really want.. is that you believe in God.		EXHOR
Because (du) if you believe in God	no matter what you see..you won't want to follow...	ϕ	REASON:HORT.PARA EXHOR.
	So (du) why is that; because (du) spirit of God is there with you.		REASON
	And so (taman), Dong first you get ready and receive God.		REINF:HORT.PARA EXHOR
Because (du) if you have received	then, when Jesus returns..even if we are sleeping..if we have received Him we will know when he arrives.		REASON: ANTI.EX.PARA SEC
But (bay) if we haven't received Him	even if he arrives at noon, if we haven't received Him then we won't know that he has arrived.	ϕ	$\overline{\text{SEC}}$:EX.PARA EXHOR
	So (du) why is that; because (du) we haven't received Him.		REASON
	It is very good to believe in God.		REINF

EXAMPLE 128

Note that the final REINF does not have an initial taman; but neither, on the other hand, does it recapitulate following intervening REASON tagmemes on its own level.

Still other uses of du 'because' are less specific and reflect a sort of loose lexical dependence on what precedes. Thus, du occurs in the APERTURE of the embedded HORTATORY DISCOURSE following the APERTURE of the embedding discourse on which it is somewhat dependent lexically:

"Advice of a Man to His Son"

One night I'll teach my son, I'll say to him, "Dong, this is my advice to you because (du) beginning now I want you to have good manners.	APERTURE
So (du) this is what I want of you when you go to school...."	APERTURE (of embedded discourse)

EXAMPLE 129

Similarly in this same discourse there is a POST-CLOSURE POINT that is lexically dependent on the preceding CLOSURE and therefore expounded by a sentence with an initial du which expresses this loose dependence. The sentence containing the du expounds PRELIM in its own paragraph.

Now that is what I have to tell you, Dong, about belief in God.	CLOSURE (of embedded discourse)
Because (du) if you really believe with your whole self in God, Dong, no matter where you are if you trust Him nothing bad will befall you because (du) God continually watches over you everyday.	POST-CLOSURE POINT:HORT. PARA(#10) PRELIM
And so (taman) Dong, concerning our belief in God, don't put it out of your mind [Here the taman introduces a sentence which recapitulates and reemphasizes the theme 'I want you to believe in God' characteristic of this whole embedded discourse].	EXHOR

EXAMPLE 130

An even looser use of du 'because' is seen at the beginning of paragraph 7 which expounds CLOSURE of the first embedded discourse within the second HORTATORY TEXT. Here, it simply seems to mean something on the order of 'and so': 'So now' (du), Dong, I'm really giving you advice, because (du)...'

While the conjunction du has been the main point of the preceding examples and discussion, taman has also been illustrated in certain usages which indicate broader meaning and function than that of introducing a REINF tagmeme after intervening REASON. In Example 128 above, taman occurs on the first sentence of an embedded paragraph which expounds REINF. As previously remarked, we see here the dominance of the higher node in selecting the sentence-initial conjunction. The same main paragraph begins, however, with a taman in its first sentence--which expounds EXHOR. This is apparently the loosest use of this conjunction in the two HORTATORY TEXTS. Here taman introduces the second main point of the whole discourse. While the first point (also expounded by an embedded discourse) urges good conduct at school and after school hours, the second main point is expounded by a discourse on belief in God. While presumably the two main points are related, taman--which introduces the second embedded discourse--does not seem here to reecho or recapitulate as it does elsewhere.

The reechoing or recapitulating use of taman is seen in paragraph 6 (of the second HORTATORY TEXT) which begins (PRELIM) 'And so (taman) Dong, I'm really giving you advice because when you are a single boy you really pity me, Dong.' The words 'I'm really giving you advice' could be considered to refer back to the words found in the TEXT of the paragraph which expounds the APERTURE of the embedded discourse: 'this is what I really want of you'. These words, however, are in turn in loose lexical dependence on the preceding APERTURE of the whole discourse: 'this is my advice to you.' It is to the latter words that the opening sentence of paragraph 6 harks back. Here taman could, almost be paraphrased 'And so I say again...' or 'And so I reemphasize...'

The immediately following paragraph in the same discourse marks CLOSURE of the first embedded discourse. This closing paragraph consists of a PRELIM and an EXHOR. The latter has an initial taman. Here at discourse CLOSURE we have an echo of another element (reference to edam 'manners') in the APERTURE. Since, however, the APERTURE of the embedded discourse is comparatively colorless 'this is what I want of you when you go to school', again it is the preceding APERTURE of the entire discourse that provides the material which is reechoed at the CLOSURE of the embedded discourse. I tabulate below MAIN APERTURE, DEPENDENT DISCOURSE, APERTURE, and EXHOR tagmeme of the paragraph which expounds CLOSURE:

Dong, this is my advice to you because beginning now I want you to have good manners.	APERTURE
So this is what I want of you when you go to school.	APERTURE (of embedded discourse)
And so (taman), Dong, really cultivate your manners because...[Here, again, the taman particle could be paraphrased 'And so I say again...']	CLOSURE:PARA 7 EXHOR

EXAMPLE 131

It is instructive above to note a certain tendency for taman to occur on or near APERTURE and CLOSURE of a discourse. The conjunctive complex na taman (of much the same meaning) occurs twice in "Advice to Ginong". Once it occurs in an APERTURE of an embedded discourse following the APERTURE of the main discourse: APERTURE: 'And now I turn to you, Ginong...' APERTURE: 'And so (na taman) this is my advice to you, Ginong...' The second occurrence of na taman in this same text is in the PRELIM of the paragraph which expounds CLOSURE: 'And so (na taman), Ginong, I have told you how it is when you first get a wife.'

The third particle which Blackburn and McLachlin discuss is bay 'but'. It's meaning is always clearly adversative in the text on which they base their conclusions. In ANTITHETICAL HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS (see next section) bay occurs on the first sentence of the COUNTER-SECTION (SEC)--regardless of the function of that sentence within its own embedded paragraph. Here again we see the influence of the higher node in the selection of conjunctions.

Sometimes paragraphs begin with a sentence introduced by bay 'but'. In such circumstances there is a lexical opposition across paragraph boundaries. Thus, in several paragraphs of the first HORTATORY TEXT, bay...nan, 'but...now' occurs. In each case the preceding paragraph contains an aye 'formerly'. The speaker is emphasizing the difference between Ginong's new status as a married man versus his former status as a single man. Similarly, between paragraphs 4 and 5 of HORTATORY TEXT 2 is a lexical opposition (being bad in school and getting spanked versus being well-mannered and treating your teacher with consideration) that is reflected in the presence of bay in the first sentence of paragraph 5.

These particles appear to be of peculiar frequency and relevance in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. In NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS they are not found--except within embedded EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. Sentences in Sarangani Bilaan NARRATIVE typically begin with *na* 'and'. Much the same holds for PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS. In EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS *du* 'because and *bay* or *kabay* 'but' are not uncommon, but there is only one example in the present corpus of a *taman* in such paragraphs. In that one case ("Bilaan Customs", Para. 6) it occurs on a sentence expounding EXPO--which is the tagmeme of the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH that is parallel to REINF in HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

This rather detailed treatment of Sarangani Bilaan conjunctions of relevance to HORTATORY PARAGRAPH and *DISCOURSE* invites comparison with Wrigglesworth's treatment of Ilianen Manobo conjunctions in *NARRATIVE DISCOURSE* (See Discourse Genre, 1.9.3)

4.3 COORDINATE and ANTITHETICAL HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS.

Both COORDINATE and ANTITHETICAL HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS occur.

The following Ata Manobo paragraph is a COORDINATE HORTATORY PARAGRAPH. Notice the PRELIM tagmeme that functions for the whole paragraph whose nuclear tagmemes are Section I and Section II:

"Marriage Arrangements", Para. 10

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
When the marriage has taken place	this is my advice.		PRELIM
No matter where your wife goes, even if she's late in coming home,	it is only when you scold her in jealousy that it is bad,	because you have no reason to scold her, (and) because you will only insult your wife.	SEC.I EXHOR
	This is the ↓ beginning of what causes trouble, of what causes gossip.		REINF
Even if your wife happens to follow a man	do not critize	because the woman will report (your criticism to her family)	SEC.II EXHOR
	The reason ↓ that you criticize her is	because you are the one who got jealous.	REINF

EXAMPLE 132

The following Tagabili paragraph is somewhat brief but still displays a coordinate structure:

"Tagabili Land Problem", Para. 15

If you can have people help you clear the bamboo below Afus.	SEC.I:SIM HORT.PARA EXHOR
If Rivera comes don't pay any attention to him.	REINF
Have people help you who don't run easily.	SEC.II:SIM HORT.PARA EXHOR
If he starts trouble fight back.	REINF
Clobber him.	REINF

EXAMPLE 133

The following is a Botolan Sambal ANTITHETICAL HORTATORY PARAGRAPH. It is adapted from Minot with some modification of her original analysis. The nuclear tagmemes of the ANTITHETICAL HORTATORY PARAGRAPH are SECTION (SEC) and COUNTER-SECTION ($\overline{\text{SEC}}$).

"Advice to a Young Man", Para. 10

Ground$_1$	Figure	Ground$_2$	
If I were you	I would not think about marriage now	because you are still young.	SEC EXHOR
	you wait a few years yet.		REINF
But, if you really desire to get married	tell your parents	so that they will be pleased with you.	$\overline{\text{SEC}}$ EXHOR
	Don't do like other you people who if they are far from their parents do what they want to do.		REINF
...if it is not performed in front of the parents	There is no value in a marriage...		WARN

EXAMPLE 134

5 DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS

DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS neither chain sentences together in the nucleus (as in NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS) nor join them by parallelism and paraphrase (as in EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS). Instead the nucleus of a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH contains sentences that report speech in which the content of one utterance evokes and precipitates the content of the next utterance--which is most typically (but not exclusively) by a further speaker. The two or more speakers of a typical dialogue toss points back and forth between them with a certain minimum of conflict and repartée--so that successive utterances in a dialogue resemble moves in a game.

In the subsections that follow I first describe the various sorts of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS; then consider three further matters, viz. non-verbal components of dialogue, the number of speakers involved, and paragraphs in which the lexical structure is out of phase with the grammatical structure; finally I assemble a general formula for the grammatical structure of dialogue and a game theory graph for its lexical structure.

5.1 The SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

Every dialogue involves some sort of exchange. The first speaker solicits the second speaker for information, calls on him to perform some action, or submits some statement for his evaluation. In the first case the first speaker employs some sort of question (not merely rhetorical question but a real request for information). In the second case the first speaker issues some sort of advice, suggestion, invitation, plan, plea, request, or command. In the third case the first speaker simply makes some sort of remark. To describe these situations we may say that speaker one issues a QUESTION (Q), PROPOSAL (PROP), or REMARK (REM). The solicited replies are respectively: ANSWER (A), RESPONSE (RES), or EVALUATION (EV).

What we have just described is in reality the lexical structure of SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH which consist of a single exchange (plus or minus peripheral material). When the lexical structure is in phase with grammatical (see section 5.6, where the two are out of phase) we may refer grammatically to the first speaker's QUESTION, PROPOSAL, or RESPONSE as the initiating utterance or SPEECH$_1$ and to the corresponding ANSWER, RESPONSE, or EVALUATION as the resolving utterance or SPEECH$_3$ (an intervening tagmeme, SPEECH$_2$, is described below in 5.2)

The following three examples of SIMPLE RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS are from an Ata Manobo DRAMATIC TEXT:

"Fencing Wild Pigs", Ep. 5

Where are they?	SP$_1$ (Q)
In that cogon [high grass].	SP$_3$ (A)

EXAMPLE 135

"Fencing Wild Pigs", Ep. 1

Asina said, "Today we'll trap pigs in a fence because it is Sunday and we have no work."	SP$_1$ (PROP)
Lugtom and his companions said, "Yes"--also Istakiu, Kausing--many--and Kunsay.	SP$_3$ (RES)

EXAMPLE 136

"Fencing Wild Pigs", Ep. 21b

It's very cold.	SP_1 (REM)
Yes, indeed.	SP_3 (EV)

EXAMPLE 137

This SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH may have, however, a non-dialogue periphery consisting of the following grammatical tagmemes: (1) SETTING (SETT)--which as in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS provides information as to time, place and dramatis personae, or anticipates the general content of the paragraph. (2) BUILD-UP tagmemes (BU's) which link to each other and to the first sentence of the dialogue proper by the typical formal devices of narrative linkage. In the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, however, there is no BU_n (no climactic BU) in that the dialogue itself represents the peak of the paragraph. (3) TERMINAL--which gives subsequent activity, shift of locale, notification of further elapsed time or some other sort of comment applicable to the whole nucleus.

A SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH may also have a dialogue periphery--which is 'inner' in respect to the 'outer' non-dialogue periphery. This inner periphery consists lexically of REMARKS (REMS) which do not figure into the innerplay of the exchange itself. These are given the grammatical label $SPEECH_0$. This tagmeme may occur preposed or postposed to the exchange proper.

Three Tagabili examples follow. The three examples give further exemplification of the three varieties of SIMPLE RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. In addition, the first example illustrates BU tagmemes in the non-dialogue periphery while the third exemplifies TERMINAL of the non-dialogue periphery.

Supp. Para. Ex. 12,"May's Story"

And when we had been there one night	they sent us down to the river to wash sweet potatoes.	BU_1
	Yadan was washing the sweet potatoes.	BU_2
And Ting asked, he said, "What's their purpose for these sweet potatoes, friend Yadan?"		SP_1 (Q)
Friend Yadan said, "They make bread from these sweet potatoes here".		SP_3 (A)

EXAMPLE 138

Supp. Para. Ex. 13, "May's Story"

And Ting said, "Let's visit the Americans south, let's see what they are like".	SP_1 (PROP)
And Yadan just said, "Let's all go".	SP_3 (RES)

EXAMPLE 139

Supp. Para. Ex. 11, "Walan"

I said, "What a lot I'll forget now if I don't keep on studying".	SP_1 (REM)
And they said to me, "As for that, not yet".	SP_3 (EVAL)
And I rested for one year.	TERM

EXAMPLE 140

The following Ata Manobo example exemplifies both SETTING and TERMINAL of the non-dialogue periphery.

"Don Huan" (no para. reference given)

The python started out		SETT
	Don Huan listens to what the python says, "Don't be afraid because we will go inside the burrow."	SP_1 (PROP)
	"Yes," said Don Huan	SP_3 (RESP)
The python entered the burrow.		TERM

EXAMPLE 141

As stated in 5.2 of Sec. 1, "the use of a dialogue periphery (remarks not tying into the nuclear repartée of a conversational exchange) in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE probably is intended to fulfill a function similar to that of the non-dialogue periphery in the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS found in NARRATIVE DISCOURSE." I give, therefore, a few examples of SP_0 (REM) in some further paragraphs from Ata Manobo DRAMATIC DISCOURSE:

"Fencing Wild Pigs", Episode 15

This is indeed a large pig because the teeth are long.	SP_0 (REM)
Who speared it?	SP_1 (Q)
Mangginia did, he and the houseboy of Sintinalis.	SP_3 (A)
It's fat; it's fat because its pregnant.	SP_0 (REM)

EXAMPLE 142

Episode 2

Where are the pigs?	SP_1 (Q)
In Tindogan's field.	SP_3 (A)
There are lots of pigs.	SP_0 (REM)
Yesterday, they ate Dangiow's sweet potatoes; today they'll be fenced.	SP_0 (REM)

EXAMPLE 143

Although the dialogue periphery is common in DRAMATIC DISCOURSE it is by no means restricted to that discourse genre. Note the following S. Bilaan example from a NARRATIVE TEXT. This paragraph has both a non-dialogue periphery (SETTING, BU_1, BU_2) and a dialogue periphery (SP_0-REM):

Text 1, Para. 24

And Betty and her companions were there at the landing because they were waiting for us there.		SETT
And when we arrived there	we unloaded the things we brought.	BU_1
And we finished unloading the cargo	then we proceeded to the house.	BU_2
And when we arrived at the house	I said.."We probably won't see the old woman again."	SP_0 (REM)
	Then Betty said, "What did you discuss?"	SP_1 (Q)
	And I said, "We had a good discussion."	SP_3 (A)

EXAMPLE 144

A further tagmeme of the SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH is the terminating utterance (SP_4) which may follow a resolving utterance (SP_3) and is in fact dependent upon the former without which it may not occur. A terminating utterance expresses COMPLIANCE (COM) or DISSATISFACTION (DISS) with the resolving utterance (SP_3).

The following is from an Ata Manobo NARRATIVE TEXT; it also illustrates TERM:

MBaot, Para. 3

"No", said the bachelor, "we ask you how much you will sell these horses for?"	SP_1 (Q)
The Datu said, "You want to get enough from me, but this will be my price to you; the price of these horses is 250.00 pesos each."	SP_3 (A)
"Yes", said the bachelors.	SP_4 (COM)
Then they paid for them.	TERM

EXAMPLE 145

The following Itneg example illustrates not only SP_4 but SP_0 of the dialogue periphery:

"Kabonyan", Para. 40

"Oh, it is amazing because they were so pitiful before,	SP_0 (REM)
"What did these children do to come to prosper?" said the people.	SP_1 (Q)
"You know what was given by Kabonyan to the people he pitied that he created," said the others.	SP_3 (A)
"Oh yes, that's the way it is," said the others.	SP_4 (COM)

EXAMPLE 146

SIMPLE UNRESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS lack a resolving utterance (SP_3) as in the next Itneg example:

"Diyam", Para. 4

When she was by the waterpipe she put in her net and caught rice straw because they (the people harvesting) had just finished removing the grain from the stalk.		SETT
	"Oh, they're really harvesting," she said and she was opposite their place of getting water.	SP_1 (REM)
	She came out of the water.	TERM

EXAMPLE 147

5.2 The COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

The introduction of a further tagmeme, continuing utterance (SP_2), results in a COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. A continuing (or counter utterance) is lexically a COUNTER-QUESTION ($\overline{Q}$), COUNTER-PROPOSAL ($\overline{PROP}$) or COUNTER-REMARK ($\overline{REM}$).

As Walton puts it "It does not resolve the dialogue by giving the expected response but parries the first speech and either delays or redirects the dialogue". As Abbott and I have described it "The purpose of an SP_2 is to parry an SP_1 rather than reply to it as requested". Doris Porter comments "The purpose of an SP_2 is to avoid a direct reply to what is requested by SP_1 by introducing one's own PROPOSAL, QUESTION, or REMARK. In brief, if a second speaker resorts to an SP_2 instead of the requested SP_3 then the second speaker is attempting to wrest the control of the exchange from the first speaker. An SP_2 can in turn be replied to by another SP_2. A chain of SP_2 can thus continue until one speaker acknowledges the other's lead and answers the last COUNTER-QUESTION ($\overline{Q}$), COUNTER-PROPOSAL ($\overline{PROP}$), or COUNTER-REMARK ($\overline{REM}$)--in which case the complex dialogue is resolved. Or, alternatively, the dialogue may end with an SP_2--in which case the dialogue remains unresolved. Any lexical variety of SP_2 ($\overline{Q}$, $\overline{PROP}$, $\overline{REM}$) can follow any variety of SP_1 (Q, PROP, REM) or any variety of SP_2. But when a dialogue is resolved the lexical variety of SP_3 which matches the immediately preceding SP_1 or SP_2 must be employed.

Thus, to use a simple example from English (there seems no reason to believe that the dynamics of dialogue in English is in any fundamental way different from that of Philippine languages), a dialogue can begin with SP_1 (Q): 'Where are you going?' If the second speaker, accepting the lead of the first, replies with the solicited information the dialogue is resolved with an SP_3 (A): 'Downtown.' On the other hand, the second speaker may choose to contest the lead of the first. If so, an SP_2 will intervene in one of three lexical varieties, i.e. $\overline{Q}$: 'What's your reason for asking me?' $\overline{PROP}$: 'Come along with me and I'll show you.' $\overline{REM}$: 'I'm tired of your always checking up on me.' At this point, the first speaker can acknowledge the lead of the second by answering the $\overline{Q}$ with an SP_3 (A) such as 'I just want to know how to reach you in case of emergency'; by responding to the ($\overline{PROP}$) with an SP_3 (RES) such as 'O.K., I'll be with you in five minutes'; or 'I'm awfully sorry but I just can't leave the office right now'; or by evaluating the $\overline{REM}$ with SP_3 (EV) such as 'I know you've come to feel that way; I'm sorry. Forget it.' or 'You have no right to feel that way toward me.' By one of these three routes the dialogue can be resolved--whether amicably or otherwise. On the other hand, speaker one may be unwilling to let the control of the dialogue pass into the hands of speaker two. He may counter the SP_2($\overline{Q}$) of the second speaker with his own SP_2($\overline{Q}$): 'And what's your reason for not wanting to tell me where you are going?' or with an SP_2($\overline{PROP}$): 'Come on, sit down here, Bill, and let's talk this matter over calmly'; or with SP_2($\overline{REM}$): 'There you go getting in a huff again in nothing flat.' Eventually such a dialogue issues either in a draw--with neither speaker consenting to resolve the dialogue (even in an unamicable manner); or one speaker will resolve the dialogue via SP$_3$ in one of the three lexical varieties. The whole dialogue resembles then a game whose object is to maintain control oneself and secure resolution of the dialogue by one's opponent.

The following two examples are COMPLEX UNRESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS in Ata Manobo:

Ground Figure

"Minuna:, Para. 1

Ground	Figure	
There was one bachelor.		SETT
Leaving	the bachelor said, "Mother, I want to visit the slave area in Kaatan."	SP$_1$ (PROP)
	"Yes", said his father, "but how many days will you spend in Kaatan?"	SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{Q}}$)
He was a rich man; a bachelor still.		TERM

EXAMPLE 148

"Fencing Wild Pigs", Ep. 12b

"And take Kunsay with you."	SP$_1$ (PROP)
"Go away, go away," said Kunsay.	SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
"You just be uncooperative; I'll just be the one to eat."	SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{REM}}$)
"Loudmouth, they'll go away."	SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{REM}}$)

EXAMPLE 149

Three further examples of the same paragraph type follow in S. Bilaan:

Text 1, Para. 19

And now after that	we loaded our things	BU_1
And after we loaded our things	I first returned to kiss mother.	BU_2
	I said to her, "Mother, I don't say that I don't love you very much...I have work to do for God. If I was doing what I wanted I wouldn't leave you."	SP_1(PROP)
	She said, "B....care for my grandchildren...we won't meet again".	$SP_2(\overline{\text{PROP}})$
And after she talked to me then I left.		TERM

EXAMPLE 150

Text 1, Para. 16

Now the next morning we just waited for the plane	SETT
But we remembered and we said, "That's true, Paul said yesterday, 'If I'm not able to come tomorrow then I'll be very early Monday'."	SP_0 (REM)
And Tiala said, "If that is so I will just return to our place".	SP_1 (PROP)
And I said to him, "First you wait for a while, until this afternoon".	SP_2 $(\overline{\text{PROP}})$

EXAMPLE 151

Text 11, Para. 8

And that next morning...he said, "Where is the money you borrowed from me, because you said you would return it today?"[9]	SP_1 (PROP)
And I said..."If possible, please wait until next Sunday...they had spent the money I was going to give you".	SP_2 $(\overline{\text{PROP}})$
But I didn't have any money at the house, because if I didn't lie perhaps that person wouldn't let me borrow from him.	TERM

EXAMPLE 152

The following two examples, from Ata Manobo, illustrate

---

[9] While Blackburn and McLachlin consider this direct question to be lexically a QUESTION, I interpret it as actually a PROPOSAL in euphemistic terms (='Pay me back my money today').

COMPLEX RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH with the lexical structure PROP, $\overline{Q}$, A in their nuclei:

"Fencing Wild Pigs", Ep. 12a

Now, Kausing, you bring the stuff we'll use to tie.	SP_1 (PROP)
Where shall we get it?	SP_2 ($\overline{Q}$)
From the plain.	SP_3 (A)

EXAMPLE 153

"Kamatoy" 2 200-01

$\underline{\text{Ground}}_1$	$\underline{\text{Figure}}$	
Our Ata customs are different.		SETT
If one of our companions die and when we want to bury him	we bury him here under the house.	BU_1
Having finished burying him and after staying three days in the house	we desert the grave.	BU_2
	The old man said, "Now, we will go to deceive the spirits."	SP_1 (PROP)
	Another person said, "Where will we go to deceive the spirits?"	SP_2 ($\overline{Q}$)
	"There at the junction of the Kapugi River."	SP_3 (A)

EXAMPLE 154

While COMPLEX RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS of the above lexical structure are common, other lexical structures occur. In the following Maranao example the lexical sequence, REM, $\overline{\text{PROP}}$, RES occurs:

"Diwata Kasarip" 6.23.22

It said to them, "I got something to eat."	SP_1 (REM)
Its companions said, "Let us eat also."	SP_2 ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
It answered them and said, "No, I will not let you eat, because..."	SP_3 (RES)

EXAMPLE 155

Several further examples of this lexical sequence occur in the same Maranao text, sometimes with a non-verbal exponent of RESPONSE.

5.3 The COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS consist of two or more exchanges each of which is expounded by a SIMPLE or COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

Regarding linkage between the two or more exchanges of a COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH, Porter writes:

> "A COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH is composed of a series of EXCHANGES (EXCH). Each EXCHANGE is expounded by a SIMPLE or COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. Linkage between EXCHANGES lies in the fact that the series of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS are on the same subject. The QUESTION, PROPOSITION, or RESPONSE initiating EXCHANGE$_2$ grows out of the terminating utterance of EXCHANGE$_1$. A shift of locale, dramatis personae or time introduces a new paragraph."

Link between the two EXCHANGES may also be a narrative link. As Abbott and I wrote:

> "Each EXCHANGE is expounded by a SIMPLE or COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. However, EXCHANGE$_1$ is linked to EXCHANGE$_2$ with a secondary narrative linkage."

The following Tagabili COMPOUND PARAGRAPH is a sequence of three SIMPLE RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS each consisting lexically of a QUESTION and an ANSWER:

"Abusama", Para. 2

One day we were going somewhere.	SETT
I asked him about his faith and where he came from.	EXCH$_1$:SIM DIAL P SP$_1$ (Q)
He said, "I come from Libak, I am a Mohammedan."	SP$_3$ (A)
But I said, "Where did you go to school before?"	EXCH$_2$:SIM DIAL P SP$_1$ (Q)
And he said, "One year in Libak, one year in Cotabato and there was a school I knew about," he said, "named King's Institute and now I am studying here."	SP$_3$ (A)
I said, "Who is your companion?"	EXCH$_3$:SIM DIAL P SP$_1$ (Q)
He said, "None, I just came here alone."	SP$_3$ (A)

EXAMPLE 156

The following example from S. Bilaan has two EXCHANGES both of which are lexically PROP and RES:

"The Old Man and Woman", Para. 4

And then she (the bird) took care of her (the child).	SETT
She cared for her until she was almost a teenager.	BU$_1$
The bird talked, "Grandchild, wait here because I'm about to look for food for us."	EXCH$_1$:SIM DIAL PARA SP$_1$ (PROP)
The little child talked, "Yes, Grandmother, but don't be long because I'm afraid".	SP$_3$ (RES)
"Don't be afraid;this will be the sign when I arrive..."	EXCH$_2$:SIM DIAL PARA SP$_1$ (PROP)
"Yes."	SP$_3$ (RES)
After that the bird flew.	TERM

EXAMPLE 157

The material in the two or more halves of a COMPOUND PARAGRAPH can, however, be lexically more diverse, as in the following Ata Manobo example where REM-$\overline{\text{PROP}}$ (COMPLEX UNRESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH) in EXCHANGE, is followed by a Q-A (SIMPLE RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH) in EXCHANGE$_2$:

"Minuna", Para. 4b

Ground	Figure	
	The other one said, "I'm really scared; it's as if there are no people here."	EXCH$_1$:COMPL DIAL P REM
	The rich man said, "Ah, let's try to call."	$\overline{\text{PROP}}$
Calling	The rich man said, "Where did you people go?"	EXCH$_2$:SIM DIAL P Q
	The ghost answered, "Here I am", but it was an evil spirit; he was lying.	A

EXAMPLE 158

There is no theoretical limit on the number of EXCHANGES in a COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. The following Itneg example is prepared by Walton, although I have numbered the sentences in the left hand margin. This paragraph is a long COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH which consists of six EXCHANGES:

"Kabonyan", Para. 24 to 29

S_1	He went, and there truly was the Alan Spirit	SETT
S_2	"Burp, here is a person that is good to eat cooked rare," said the Alan Spirit.	$EXCH_1$:COMP DIAL PARA SP_1 (PROP)
S_3	"Oh, Lord, don't you say that."	SP_2 ($\overline{\text{REM}}$):EX P. PRELIM
S_4	"I came to tell that there are soldiers.	TEXT
S_5	There they are at the approach."	EXPO
S_6	"You go hide," said the child.	RESULT
S_7	"I was sent by Lord Kabonyan that you should leave because they are coming for you to shoot you, those soldiers," said the child.	$EXCH_2$:COMP DIAL PARA SP_1 (PROP)
S_8	"Give me a place to go," said the Alan Spirit.	SP_2 ($\overline{\text{Q}}$)
S_9	"You go to the pit trap."	SP_3 (A)
S_{10}	"Do you have a pit trap?" said the child.	$EXCH_3$:SIM DIAL PARA SP_1 (Q)
S_{11}	"There is, I'll go there to hide," said the Alan Spirit.	SP_3 (A)
S_{12}	"That's where I'll hide."	SP_0 (REM)
S_{13}	"Hide me or I'll be found by the soldiers."	$EXCH_4$:SIM DIAL PARA SP_1 (PROP/REM)
S_{14}	"Oh, no, you won't, that's why you'll go hide," said the child.	SP_3 (EV)
S_{15}	And then the Alan Spirit hid.	TERM
S_{16}	"Oh, perhaps I'll be found my child, cover me with weeds," said the Alan Spirit.	$EXCH_5$:SIM DIAL PARA SP_1 (PROP)
S_{17}	"Yes", said the child.	SP_3 (RES)
S_{18}	"That's it, I'll cover you with weeds, so that they won't see because there they are." said the child.	$EXCH_6$:SIM DIAL PARA SP_1 (PROP):EX PARA TEXT
S_{19}	"Oh, Lord, there it is, the sound of the gun," said the child.	REASON
S_{20}	And then he hurried.	TERM
S_{21}	"Cover me, cover me," said the Alan Spirit.	SP_3 (RES)

EXAMPLE 159

5.4 Non-verbal RESPONSES.

Non-verbal RESPONSES (SP$_3$-RES) indicated by some sentence type other than direct or indirect quotation sentences, also occur in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS.

Thus, in the following Tagabili example, SP$_3$ (RES) of the second EXCHANGE is a non-verbal RESPONSE to the preceding SP$_1$ (PROP):

"Abusama", Para. 5

	Now one day this boy's father came to know about his faith in another God.	SETT
	His father requested him to come home.	BU$_1$
Arriving home	↙ his father said to him, "Is this new faith of yours true?"	EXCH$_1$: SIM DIAL PARA SP$_1$ (Q)
	He said, "It's true."	SP$_3$ (A)
	His father said, "If you want to live, leave here; if you want to die, come here."	EXCH$_2$:SIM DIAL PARA SP$_1$ (PROP)
	But this boy went out and returned to Kings.	SP$_3$ (RESP)
	They didn't give him any more money.	TERM

EXAMPLE 160

In the Maranao text material, SP$_3$ (RES) of a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH more frequently reports a non-verbal than a verbal RESPONSE. A few partial presentations of paragraphs from "Diwata Kasarip" illustrate this:

1.32

!...he called his younger brothers and said, "Come here, for we will open this trunk of mother's..."	SP$_1$(PROP)
His younger brothers went to him.	SP$_3$(RES)

EXAMPLE 161

1.62

He called his younger brothers and... he said, "Let us tie ourselves together in case a typhoon hits us."	SP_1 (PROP): HORT PARA EXHOR
Let us get inside this one molong.	REINF
They all got inside one molong.	SP_3 (RES)

EXAMPLE 162

6.13

.....They said to their mistress, "That child crawling on the lawn is very beautiful."	SP_1 (REM)
When Princess Ginon Gibon heard that, she said, "Bring the child to me."	SP_2 (PROP)
The maids got the child and brought it upstairs to their mistress.	SP_3 (RES)

EXAMPLE 163

There is one case in an Ata Manobo COMPLEX DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH where the repartée assumes a non-verbal activity without which the structure of the paragraph is defective. Thus, between sentence 2 and sentence 3--presumably the same speaker--Lusogpit either pokes or threatens the speaker of sentence 1 and 2. This is a non-verbal equivalent of SPEECH$_2$.

"Fencing Wild Pigs", Ep. 24

S_1	"Halve the pig; let Lusogpit eat half."	SP_1 (PROP): EX PARA TEXT
S_2	"He eats a lot."	REASON
∅	[a physical prod or hit? some threatening motion?]	[SP_2 (REM)]
S_3	"Ah, Lusogpit, don't!"	SP_2 (PROP)
S_4	"I'll get angry because you think I eat a lot."	SP_2 (REM)
S_5	"We're just playing," said Indong.	SP_2 (REM)

EXAMPLE 164

5.5 The number of speakers in a dialogue.

In all the above little or no importance has been attached to the number of speakers involved in a dialogue. The assumption has been tacitly made that the essential structure of dialogue is not much altered by this factor. It is not even essential that more than one speaker be involved in that one speaker can carry on a dialogue with himself and this can be reported as a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH differing in no essential way from the more usual sort of dialogue which involves two or more speakers.

In Manobo DRAMATIC TEXT one can not always be certain how many speakers are involved in a given DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. In trying to stage the Ata Manobo text "Fencing Wild Pigs" as an actual drama this was brought forcibly to the fore. Thus, in EPISODE 24, in the half of that COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH just presented at the close of the last subsection (Example 164), it is clear that somebody is baiting Lusogpit; presumably this person speaks SPEECH$_1$ and SPEECH$_2$ ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$) while Lusogpit makes a non-verbal RESPONSE and speaks SPEECH$_2$ ($\overline{\text{REM}}$). Whether this is the same person as Indong, who is identified as speaker of the final SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{REM}}$) is an open question. The structure of this particular EXCHANGE in no way depends on answering that question.

On the other hand the number of speakers involved can affect in certain ways the structure of a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. The second half of the COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH follows:

"Fencing Wild Pigs", Ep. 24

This monkey's behind will get angry quickly.	SP$_1$ (REM)
"You're lying," said Lusogpit.	SP$_3$ (EV)
"True, true," said Lugtom.	SP$_3$ (EV)

EXAMPLE 165

Here again the identity of the speaker of SP$_1$ (REM) is not known. It could be the same as the speaker of the first sentence of the first EXCHANGE already discussed; or it could be Indong, who spoke the last sentence of the EXCHANGE; or it could be still someone else. It is significant, however, that two EVALUATIONS of the REMARK ensue, one by Lusogpit and one by Lugtom. Presumably, there can be several EVALUATIONS of the same REMARK if-and only if a DIALOGUE includes more than two speakers.

This leads to the generalization: multiple resolutions of a DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH (via A, RES, or EV) are possible only in the presence of more than two speakers. Presumably the larger number of speakers would also be required for more than one SP$_2$ corresponding to the same SP$_1$--as in the following hypothetical case:

Hypothetical

Children, we're going to bed right now.	SP$_1$ (PROP)
But I want a story first.	SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
And I want to work more on my model.	SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)
We got to finish this game first.	SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$)

EXAMPLE 166

The COUNTER-PROPOSALS ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$) here do not build on each other successively; rather all correspond to the original PROPOSAL. Here again we see that more than two speakers can make possible repetition of tagmemes that would not be repeated in a dialogue consisting of but two speakers.

In contrast to the above example of one-to-many dialogue, many-to-one dialogues are also possible such as in the following hypothetical case:

Hypothetical

"Where did you go?" said his father.	SP_1 (Q)
"And why were you so long getting back?" said his mother.	SP_1 (Q)
"What I want to know is what a grandson of mine as young as you is doing on the city streets past midnight?" said his grandfather.	SP_1 (Q)
"I don't really think it's fair to be grilled like this," said Tom and ran from the room.	SP_2 ($\overline{\text{REM}}$)

EXAMPLE 167

Again, many-to-one dialogues as well as one-to-many dialogues permit repetition of tagmemes not repeated in dialogues involving only two speakers.

Aside from such varieties of dialogue as these, where SP_1 or SP_3 occur multiple times and several SP_2 may correspond to the same SP_1, dialogues do not differ in structure according to the number of speakers involved since the relation of the various SP tagmemes to each other are not affected. Thus, in two of Ata Manobo DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS from "Fencing Wild Pigs" (EPISODES 2 and 5 quoted in 5.1, Examples 142 and 143) a minimum of two speakers is required in either paragraph, but anywhere from two to four speakers can be assumed with entire plausibility in either as well. Notice also the Ata Manobo COMPLEX UNRESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH "Minuna", Para. 1 in 5.2 (Example 148) where the bachelor addresses his mother in SP_1 (PROP) but is answered not by her but by his father in SP_2 ($\overline{\text{Q}}$). The structure of the paragraph would not be materially altered had the mother herself answered. Further, in the Ata Manobo example immediately following (Example 149) "Fencing Wild Pigs", Ep. 12b, we know from the previous part of the (COMPOUND) PARAGRAPH that some unidentified person ordered Kausing (a man) to go on an errand. In 12b it is possibly this same person, still addressing Kausing that says "and take Kunsay [a woman] with you." But the following SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$) is not spoken by Kausing to the person addressing him but rather by Kunsay to Kausing: '"Go away, go away," said Kunsay.' Presumably, however, it is now Kausing who speaks SP$_2$ ($\overline{\text{REM}}$) to Kunsay: 'You just be uncooperative and I'll be the one to eat.' So the dialogue moves along with various speakers contributing parts to its structure. It is a flexible game tolerating an indefinite number of players.

Addition or loss of speakers in a dialogue often occur at the transition between EXCHANGES in a COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. Thus, in the third example (Ata Manobo) of COMPOUND PARAGRAPH under 5.3 (Example 158), the first EXCHANGE is between the rich man and his companion while the second EXCHANGE is between the rich man and a ghost. Also in the COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH whose first EXCHANGE is presented at the end of 5.4 (Example 164) and whose second EXCHANGE is given at the beginning of the section (Example 165) there appears to be some elimination and addition of speakers at the transition between the two EXCHANGES.

5.6 Grammar versus lexicon in DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS.

The grammar and lexicon of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS are not in phase in all paragraphs. Thus, while the various SPEECH tagmemes commonly have the lexical values heretofore assumed, when the grammar and lexicon are out of phase more than one such value may characterize a given SPEECH tagmeme. Some examples of such skewing are found in a few of the paragraphs already cited.

The S. Bilaan example (Example 157) quoted in 5.3 has the following nucleus according to the grammatical analysis given: EXCHANGE$_1$: SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH consisting of SP$_1$ and SP$_3$: EXCHANGE$_2$: SIMPLE DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH consisting also of SP$_1$ and SP$_3$. I present again here the paragraph nucleus:

"The Old Man and Woman", Para. 4

The bird talked, "Grandchild, wait here because I'm about to look for food for us."	EXCH$_1$: SIM DIAL P SP$_1$
The little child talked, "Yes, Grandmother, but don't be long because I'm afraid."	SP$_3$
"Don't be afraid; this will be the sign when I arrive...."	EXCH$_2$: SIM DIAL P SP$_1$
"Yes".	SP$_3$

EXAMPLE 168

As a grammatical analysis this is quite defensible. The dialogue appears to fall apart into two sections with resolution of each section. On the other hand, the assignment of lexical functions in 5.3 was oversimplified. While the first SP$_1$ is certainly lexically a PROPOSAL and the last SP$_3$ is a SIMPLE RESPONSE, the first SP$_3$ involves more than RESPONSE and the second SP$_1$ involves more than PROPOSAL. The first SP$_3$, "Yes, Grandmother, but don't be long because I'm afraid" really contains lexically a RESPONSE ("Yes, Grandmother") and a PROPOSAL ("but don't be long because I'm afraid") encoded into one *Antithetical Sentence* and hence filling one grammatical slot in the paragraph (here, SP$_3$). The second SP$_1$ contains lexically a COUNTER-PROPOSAL ($\overline{\text{PROP}}$) ("Don't be afraid") plus a PROPOSAL ("this will be the sign when I arrive....") both again encoded into the same grammatical sentence in Bilaan. The grammar and lexicon are therefore out of phase as seen in the following diagram:

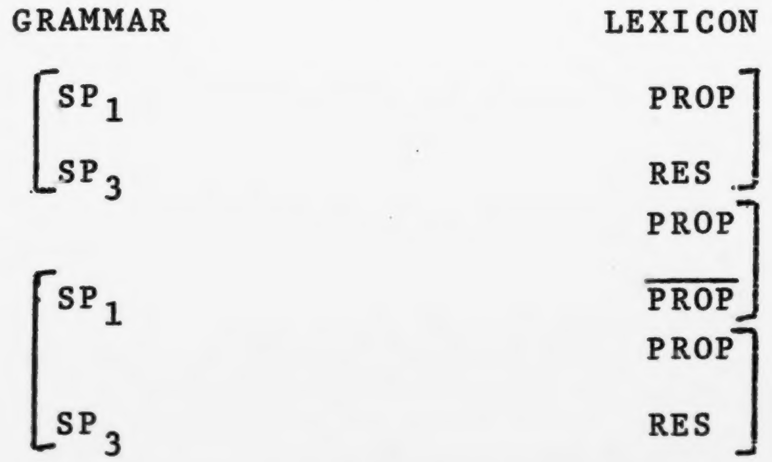


DIAGRAM 13

Thus, while grammatically the paragraph nucleus consists of two EXCHANGES each with SP$_1$ and SP$_3$, lexically it consists of three EXCHANGES the second of which (PROP, $\overline{\text{PROP}}$) is a COMPLEX UNRESOLVED EXCHANGE. *Antithetical* and *Coordinate Sentences*, when employed in dialogue, frequently result in structures in which the grammar and lexicon are out of phase. Notice also, that the lexical link between EXCHANGE$_1$ and EXCHANGE$_2$ is provided for precisely by the sequence of an *Antithetical Sentence* followed by a *Coordinate Sentence* in that the last member of the former and first member of the latter are lexically related as PROP and $\overline{\text{PROP}}$.

There is a similar lexical complication indicated by Charles Walton in EXCHANGE IV of the long Itneg COMPOUND DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH (Example 159) also cited in 5.3 above. I repeat here the relevant section of his diagram:

"Kobonyan", Para. 27

"Hide me or I'll be found by the soldiers."	SP_1 (PROP, REM)
"Oh, not so, that's why you go there to hide," said the child.	SP_3 (EV)

EXAMPLE 169

Walton here labels SP_1 as both PROP ('Hide me now') and REM ([or] 'I'll be found by those soldiers'). The two are joined in an Itneg Alternative Sentence with wenno 'or'. The first words of the sentence ('Oh, not so') which expounds SP_3 are clearly an EVALUATION (EV) of the REMARK ('I'll be found by those soldiers.'). I further suggest that the remainder of the sentence contains a reference to the original PROPOSAL and is probably an implicit RESPONSE on the part of the child to assist the Alan Spirit in finding a hiding place. Thus, the grammatical and lexical structures may be lined up as follows:

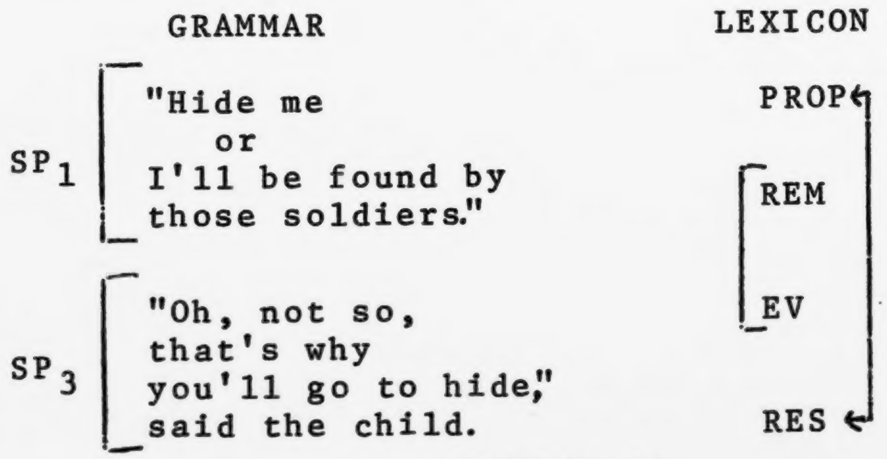


DIAGRAM 14

Here an Alternative Sentence (cf. the role of Antithetical and Coordinate Sentence in the previous example) encodes a lexical PROP and REM into the same grammatical sentence unit.

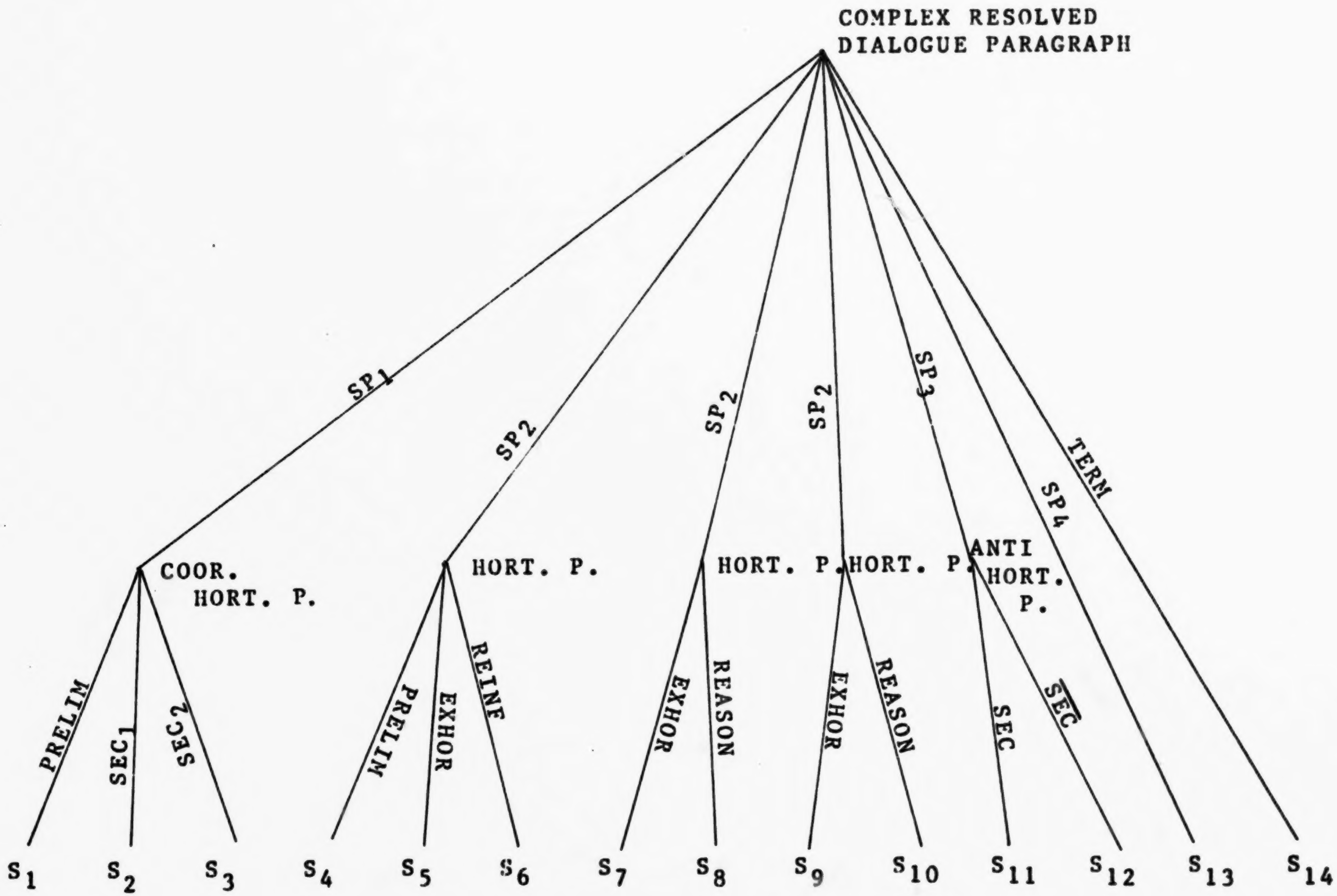
A long Maranao COMPLEX RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH ("Diwata Kasarip" 5.34) provides a very striking example of grammatical and lexical structures that are out of phase on the paragraph level. In the presentation of the English translation of this Maranao text I number the sentences consecutively in the left hand margin and give the grammatical analysis in the right hand margin. In that each quotation formation goes with a quote that is typically several sentences long we have here the usual situation in direct Quotation Sentences in which the whole paragraph involving several sentences expounds quote within the Quotation Sentence itself. I have, however, for convenience of numbering assigned the quotation formula to the first grammatical sentence which occurs in its quote. Thus, while sentences 1-3 really compose one long direct Quotation Sentence, this more comprehensive structure is ignored in the numbering of the left hand margin but acknowledged in the right hand margin.

"Diwata Kasarip" 5.34

S_1	When they brought him to Inigambar and when Inigambar saw him she said, "Greetings Diwata Kasarip, son of Sultan Nabi Bakaraman and Ba'i sa Sinara'aman of Komara Mantapoli.	SP_1:Dir.Q.S. whose Q:COORD. HORT PARA PRELIM
S_2	Why did you take our dresses?	SEC_1
S_3	Give them to me for I am dying of cold."	SEC_2
S_4	Diwata Kasarip replied and said, "Greetings to you Princess Inigambar a Olan, daughter of Sultan and Ba'i sa Antar a Langit.	SP_2:Dir.Q.S. whose Q:HORT PARA PRELIM
S_5	I will give you your dresses provided that you will let me accompany you to Antar a Langit.	EXHOR
S_6	Never mind if I did not get your clothes, if you will let me accompany you, I will look for them for you."	REINF
S_7	Inigambar replied and said, "I will request (plead with, bargain) you that you not accompany us because if you do not know it, there is now a big celebration in Antar a Langit because Radia Mangawarna is celebrating his coming marriage to me.	SP_2:Dir.Q.S. whose Q:HORT PARA EXHOR
S_8	The only thing that is delaying it is that the (dowry) requirement of the Sultan of Antar a Langit--a golden deer and a golden dog, have not yet been produced."	REASON
S_9	Diwata Kasarip said, "Let me accompany you Lady, so that I can see the festivities.	SP_2:Dir.Q.S. EXHOR
S_{10}	I also know one who owns a golden dog and a golden deer because they can only be found in Komara Mantapoli and I reckon that they cannot be secured because the owner is not at home."	REASON
S_{11}	After a long time of arguing between themselves, struggling to see who will give way to the plan of the other, Inigambar said, "Because I cannot dissuade you from going with us, bring out our dresses and you can go with us.	SP_3:Dir.Q.S. whose Q:ANTI HORT PARA SEC.
S_{12}	However, while we are going home to Antar a Langit, whatever you see you must not comment on because the moment you make any comment, we will come back to earth."	$\overline{\text{SEC}}$.
S_{13}	Diwata Kasarip brought out their clothes and gave them to them.	SP_4
S_{14}	They got their clothes and got dressed.	TERM

EXAMPLE 170

Ignoring the back-looping of paragraph structures into Quotation Sentences (Dir. Q.S.) and the formulas of quotation that are found in those sentences, I give the following simplified grammatical tree graph of this DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH:


COMPLEX RESOLVED DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH
SP1
SP2
SP2
SP2
SP3
SP4
TERM
COOR. HORT. P.
HORT. P.
HORT. P.
HORT. P.
ANTI HORT. P.
PRELIM
SEC1
SEC2
PRELIM
EXHOR
REINF
EXHOR
REASON
EXHOR
REASON
SEC
SEC
S1
S2
S3
S4
S5
S6
S7
S8
S9
S10
S11
S12
S13
S14

G-Tree Graph of Maranao DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH
(with elimination of backlooping from sentence to paragraph)

DIAGRAM 15

The grammatical structure of the text--seen more fully in the presentation diagram and more sketchily in the tree graph--shows the structuring of the paragraph into *Direct Quotation Sentences* with quotes expounded by HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. The various sentences and paragraph structures that compose the whole are each given their proper functional place. As constituent structures, there can be little doubt that sentences 1-3 belong together, as well as sentences 4-6, 7-8, 9-10, and 11-12. As groups of sentences (each constituting as well one long *Direct Quotation Sentence*) they are constituents of the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH in the same sense that sentences 13 and 14 also constitute such constituents.

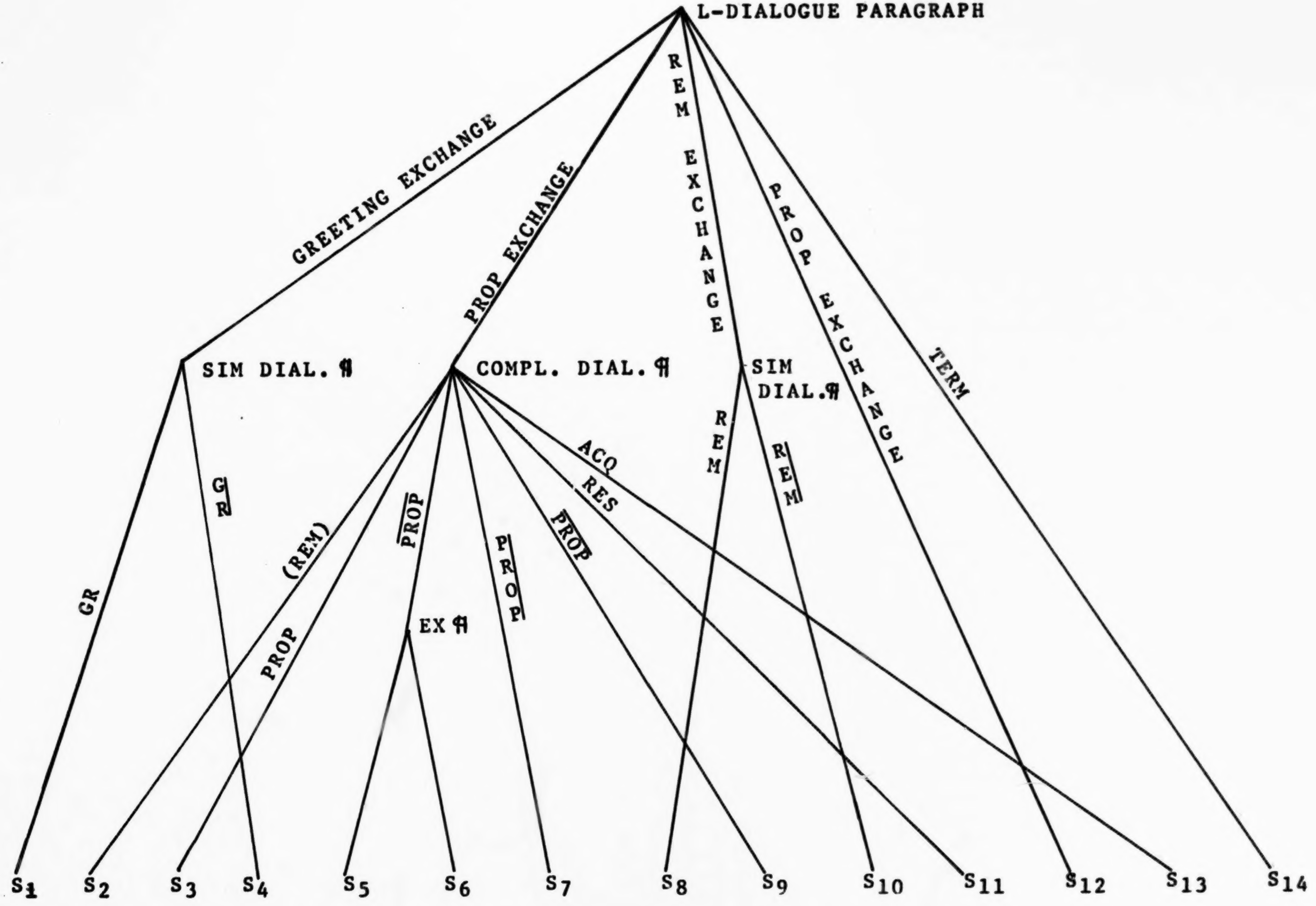
Nevertheless, there are important relations not shown in such an analysis as above. For example: (1) The greeting in S_1 seems to find its counter-part in S_4. (2) Sentences 2,3,5,6,7,9,11, and 13 seem to form a connected whole which begins with peripheral REMARK followed by a PROPOSAL, a chain of COUNTER-PROPOSALS, a RESOLUTION via RESPONSE, and ACQUIESCENCE; the topic of the verbal hassle is Inigambar's desire to get back her clothes and Diwata Kasarip's desire to accompany her to Antar a Langit. (3) Sentences 8 and 10 correspond as REMARK and COUNTER-REMARK. (4) Sentence 12 seems to be a minimal unresolved EXCHANGE consisting of a PROPOSAL. These lexical relations are summarized in Diagram 16: Interlacing of lexical DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS. In this diagram the speakers (I=Inigambar; D=Diwata Kasarip) are identified along the top of the chart; sentences are indicated by number along the bottom of the chart; types of L-paragraph (GREETING; PROPOSAL; REMARK) are given in the left-hand margin, and lexical tagmemes are given in the relevant cells. The double vertical line between sentence 10 and sentence 11 symbolized the indefinite chain of counter-tagmemes (e.g. $\overline{\text{PROP}}$ following $\overline{\text{PROP}}$) indicated by the words 'after a long time arguing among themselves, struggling to see who will give way to the plan of the other....'

	I	I	I	D	D	I	I	D	D	I	I	D	
GR P	GR			$\overline{\text{GR}}$									TERM
PROP P		REM	PROP		$\overline{\text{PROP}}$	$\overline{\text{PROP}}$		$\overline{\text{PROP}}$		RES		ACQ	
REM P							REM		$\overline{\text{REM}}$				
PROP P											PROP		
					EX P								
					TEXT EXPO								
	S_1	S_2	S_3	S_4	S_5 S_6	S_7	S_8	S_9	S_{10}	S_{11}	S_{12}	S_{13}	S_{14}

Interlacing of lexical DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS
in Maranao DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS

DIAGRAM 16

Finally to facilitate comparison of the lexical with the grammatical structure of this paragraph I append an L-tree graph of the same. (Diagram 17)


L-DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH
GREETING EXCHANGE
PROP EXCHANGE
REM EXCHANGE
PROP EXCHANGE
TERM
SIM DIAL. ¶
COMPL. DIAL. ¶
SIM DIAL. ¶
GR
GR
(REM)
PROP
PROP
EX ¶
PROP
PROP
ACQ
RES
REM
REM
S_1
S_2
S_3
S_4
S_5
S_6
S_7
S_8
S_9
S_{10}
S_{11}
S_{12}
S_{13}
S_{14}

L-Tree Graph of Diwata Kasarip 5.34 as a COMPOUND LEXICAL DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH embedding discontinuous DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS

DIAGRAM 17

5.7 General formulations for DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS.

To summarize this presentation of DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS I give here a general formula for the grammatical paragraph (Diagram 18). While this bidimensional array was framed by Abbott and me specifically for Ata, it is applicable to other Philippine languages as well--and is probably significant for many other linguistic areas.

Braces enclose the nucleus and the dialogue periphery. Square brackets enclose the nucleus proper. The correlation of grammatical tagmemes (SP_0, SP_1, etc.) with lexical tagmemes (PROP, Q, etc.) is, as we have seen in the previous section, only the statistically most common one.

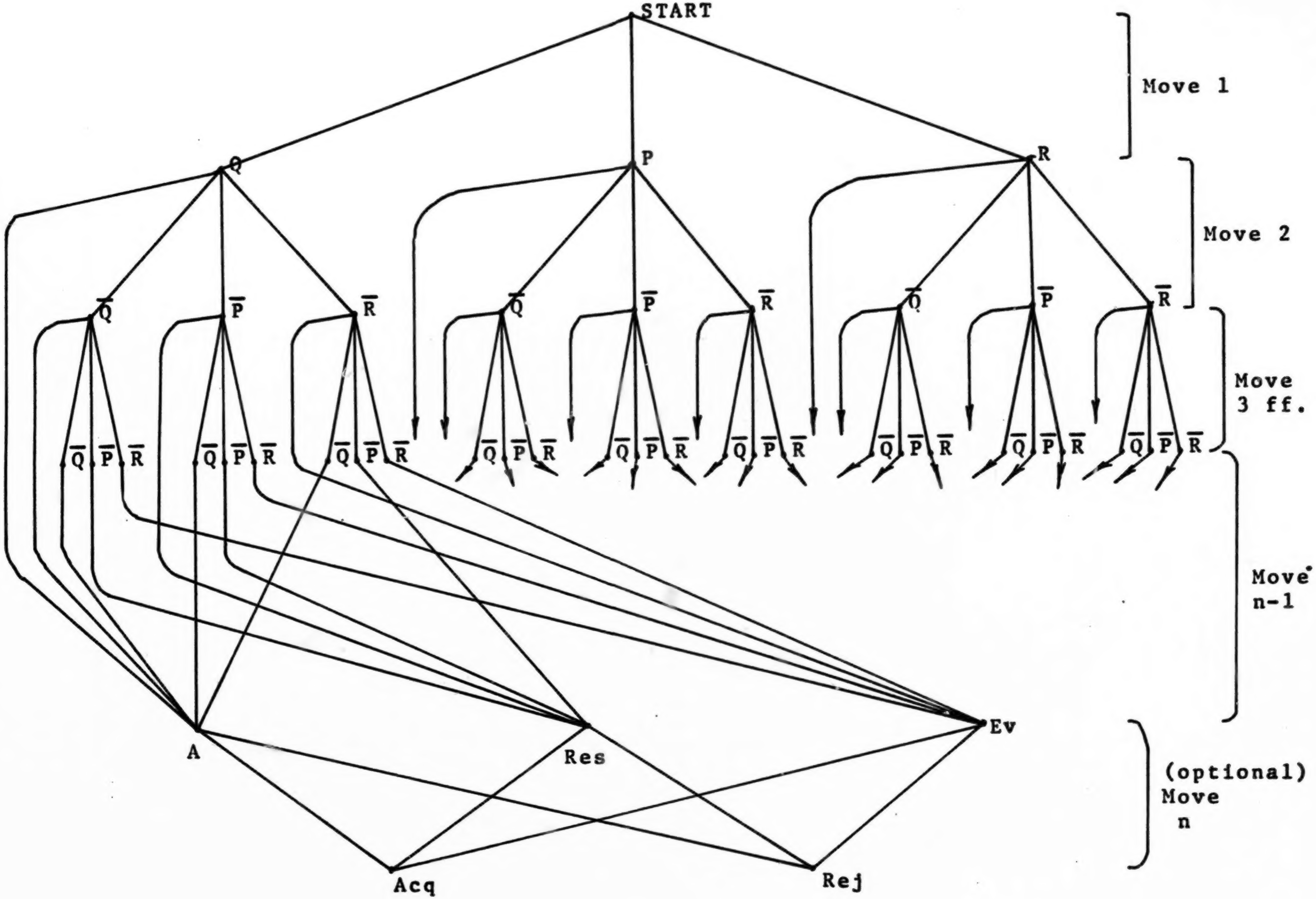
$\pm$ SETT	$\pm$ (BU)^{n}	$\{\pm$ (SP$_0$)^{n}	[+ SP$_1$	$\pm$ SP$_2$	$\pm$ (+ SP$_3$	$\pm$ SP$_4$)]}	$\pm$ TERM
S(not quot.)	S(not quot.)	(L=REM) Dir.Q.S. Ind.Q.S.	(L=PROP/ Q/REM) Dir.Q.S. Ind.Q.S.	(L=PROP/ Q/REM) Dir.Q.S. Ind.Q.S.	(L=RES/A/EV) Dir.Q.S. Ind.Q.S. Other S^1	(L=ACQ/ REJ) Dir.Q.S. Ind.Q.S. Other S^1	S
	2.	- - - - - Other S	- - - - - Other S EX PARA HORT PARA	- - - - - Other S EX PARA HORT PARA	- - - - - - - EX PARA HORT PARA	- - - -	

Rules:

1. SP$_0$ may follow SP$_4$.
2. Other S^1 above the dotted line reports verbal or non-verbal activity which resolves a dialogue.
3. All exponents below the dotted line are restricted to DRAMATIC DISCOURSE. (In NARRATIVE DISCOURSE SP$_0$ - SP$_3$ are expounded by Quotation Sentence which may have various S types and PARA types as exponents of quote. In such discourse DIR.Q.S. may occur with deleted Quotation Formulas. In DRAMATIC DISCOURSE, absence of Quotation Formula is so regular that it need not be posited as a deleted feature.)

General Formula for Ata DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS

DIAGRAM 18


START
Move 1
Q
P
R
Move 2
$\bar{Q}$
$\bar{P}$
$\bar{R}$
Move
3 ff.
$\bar{Q}$ $\bar{P}$ $\bar{R}$
Move
n-1
A
Res
Ev
(optional)
Move
n
Acq
Rej

The (Nuclear) Lexical Structure of Dialogue as a Game

DIAGRAM 19

The relationship of the nuclear lexical tagmemes to each other is best represented in a game theory diagram (Diagram 19) which symbolizes the moves open to the two or more players. The game opens with a choice of three moves: QUESTION (Q), PROPOSAL (PROP), or REMARK (REM) (ignoring GREETING and COUNTER-GREETING as well as LEAVE-TAKING and COUNTER-LEAVE-TAKING at end of dialogue). In the next move a further speaker can (a) proceed to immediate resolution of the dialogue via the matching ANSWER (A), RESPONSE (RES), or EVALUATION (EV); or (b) proceed to contest the control of the conversation by introducing the (unmatched) counter-tagmemes: $\overline{\text{Q}}$, $\overline{\text{PROP}}$, or $\overline{\text{REM}}$. This in turn opens up to the next speaker (who often is the initiator of the dialogue) the same set of options: (a) resolution; (b) effort to contest the control of the conversation. This can continue indefinitely if each speaker resorts to option (b). The two give up the game as a draw unless one succeeds in jockeying the other into a position where he resolves the dialogue by opting for (a)--which is either the next to the last move or the last move of the game. A further speaker may choose to express acquiescence or rejection as the final although optional move. This is symbolized in the accompanying game diagram. For simplicity, only the left hand side of the diagram is worked out in detail.

6 Possible further types.

There is no reason to believe that the preceding scheme of paragraph types is necessarily exhaustive. In some of the data papers underlying this study further types are suggested.

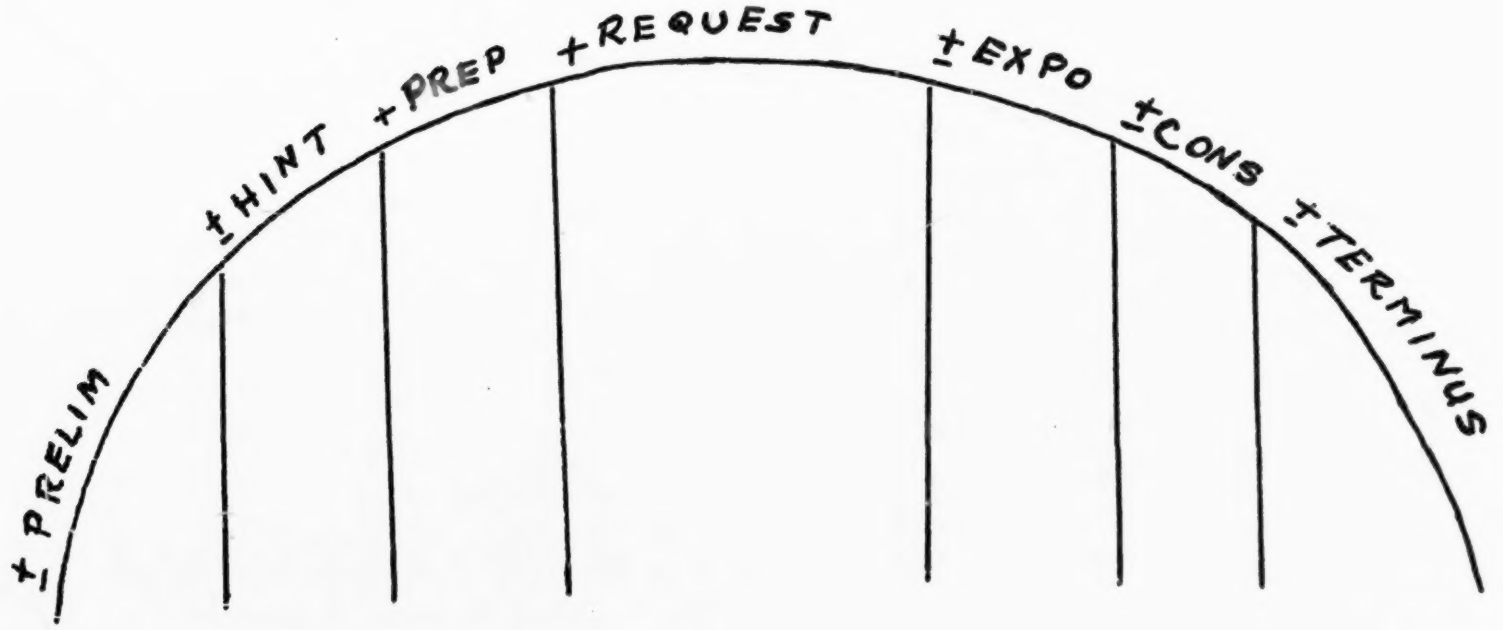
6.1 REASONING PARAGRAPH (B. Sambal)

For Botolan Sambal, Harriet Minot suggests a REASONING PARAGRAPH on the basis of two examples. This tentative type, which occurs only embedded in the other paragraphs, seems to differ from the usual run of EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS in that it involves a series of premises and a CONCLUSION--which gives a late PEAK in such paragraphs rather than the early PEAK typical of EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS (See "A Good Whipping", Para. 6, sentences 40a-c; and Para. 7, sentences 47a-g).

Furthermore, several of the DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS of the Botolan Sambal texts do not seem to fit well the schemes for DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH types presented in the last section. There is an apparent mixture of narrative and dialogue features--in that non-dialogue material occurs both in the center of dialogue and also following dialogue (cf. "The Monkey and the Turtle", paragraphs 3,4,6,8,9). Possibly, the positing of STEP-DOWN tagmemes (SD) following dialogue materials--as suggested by Minot--can take care of non-dialogue material which follows the dialogue nucleus. Interspersed non-dialogue material is usually non-verbal response.

6.2 PRECATORY PARAGRAPHS (Atta Negrito)

Claudia Whittle, likewise on the basis of a small number of examples suggests a PRECATORY PARAGRAPH in which a request is made. I modify somewhat her suggested analysis by (a) distinguishing a consolidation (CONS) tagmeme which, when present, is always parallel to HINT, from TERM which does not display this parallelism; (b) by making both HINT and CONS nuclear rather than peripheral. This suggested paragraph type has peak as its midpoint (rather than a late peak as in NARRATIVE and PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS, or an early peak as in EXPLANATORY and HORTATORY). The suggested tagmemes are displayed below arranged on an arc to show the internal symmetry of this paragraph type:



Structure of Atta Negrito PRECATORY PARAGRAPHS

DIAGRAM 20

The following Atta example exemplifies a symmetrical sequence: HINT, PREP (preparation), REQUEST, CONS:

We laughed at the dancing of Brother Tito, Linda and Rehina.	HINT
I envy, Sister, the loincloth you got for Brother Tito.	PREP
Get for me too a loincloth, just four fingers wide, just like his.	REQUEST
Measure his loincloth.	EXPO
I laughed at your telling us of the deep fringe, especially the fringe of the loincloth.	CONS

EXAMPLE 171

6.3 Some putative paragraph types in Kalamian Tagbanwa.

In that the grammatical sentence is held to be in loose relationship with the phonological sentence, I eliminated from Edward Ruch's paper on Kalamian Tagbanwa sentence structures three putative G-sentence types each of which is consistently mapped into two P-sentences. It is therefore, necessary to consider that these putative G-sentences types are actually series of G-sentences and that such series constitute paragraph structures.

All the paragraphs involved express comparison and are probably EXPLANATORY or HORTATORY PARAGRAPHS. One type, CONTRAST COMPARISON, is probably a subtype of the ANTITHETICAL EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH: "I can't marry her and I'm a Spaniard. Yet he can marry Doña Maria and he's got a flat nose and curly hair." The chief formal specification that Ruch makes about such Kalamian Tagbanwa paragraphs is that the first sentence often contains a Concessive Margin while the second often contains a Conditional Margin: "He is very lackadaisical, albeit alive. (On the other hand) that other person, if he had not died, would be very industrious." Ruch observes that such paragraphs are semantically XCQ; $\overline{YCQ}$, i.e. "X under circumstances C has quality Q; but Y under reversed circumstances $\overline{C}$ has reversed quality $\overline{Q}$".[10]

A further type of comparison is expressed in what looks like a further subtype of ANTITHETICAL EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. Sentence two either begins with kapin 'much more' or is a rhetorical question: 'When I'm the one giving orders you are somewhat lazy. How much more (kapin) when she will be the only one here, you probably won't even obey her.' Again: 'I'm afraid enough as it is to get on a boat. What would it be like if I followed you by boat all the way to Manila.' Ruch represents this type of comparison semantically as: XCQ; XC'Q', i.e. 'X under circumstances C has quality Q, but X under a higher degree of circumstances C(C') has a higher degree of quality Q(Q').'

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[10] Changing Ruch's C(β) and Q(β) to $\overline{C}$ and $\overline{Q}$ for reversed values.

Still a further type of comparison is expressed in what looks like a subtype of the ANTITHETICAL HORTATORY PARAGRAPH--in that the speaker of the paragraph is urging a preferable cause of action upon himself. The first sentence represents one course of action; and the second sentence, an alternative but less preferable course of action: "O...never mind if my feet get cut; if I can just step down upon the reef at low tide and enter into the stand of bamboo, it'll be good. Just so I don't get caught by them, bound and taken to Manila.' Again: 'For Pete's sake [strong exclamation], I'll spend the time planting; it'll be a help to my poverty. That's better than my vacationing here where it is so difficult.' Ruch does not suggest a semantic formalization of this sort of comparison.

Probably, none of the Kalamian Tagbanwa examples imply further paragraph types. Rather they are more probably subtypes of ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPHS whether EXPLANATORY or HORTATORY. As ANTITHETICAL PARAGRAPHS they are double-peaked rather than single-peaked, while in 6.1 a late-peaking paragraph type is suggested and 6.2 a symmetrical paragraph type with peak about its middle.

APPENDIX

Besides the articles listed at the end of Sec. I of this volume, the following unpublished papers also constitute the subject data of this section:

1. Harriet Minot, _Paragraph Analysis of Botolan Sambal_.

2. Charles Walton, _Binongan Itneg Paragraph Structure_.

3. Norman Abrams, _A Summary of Paragraph and Discourse Types in Koronadal Bilaan_.

4. Thelma Svelmoe, _Paragraph Structure of Mansaka_.

5. Edward Ruch, _Kalamian Tagbanwa Sentence Structures_.

6. Seymour Ashley, _A Tausug Text_.

PART 3

LEXICON VERSUS GRAMMAR IN DIBABAWON PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

Myra L. Barnard

and

Robert E. Longacre

0 Introduction.

Sporadic attention has been paid in the two previous sections of this volume to lexical structure as distinct from the grammatical structure of discourses and paragraphs. Thus, in Section 1, under the various discourse genre, lexical linkage--patterns of association and repetition--is mentioned as well as grammatical linkage. In Section 2, the lexicon receives more attention, especially in regard to NARRATIVE and DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS. In 1.1.2 of Section 2 it is specifically pointed out that in NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS, the *Time Margin* of an ensuing sentence and the part of the preceding sentence referred to in that *Time Margin* form a lexical sentence of which several varieties may be distinguished. The purpose of this section is to develop more adequately the notion of lexical structure by distinguishing grammar from lexicon in one language and in one discourse genre. Attention is not restricted to the hierarchical levels of discourse and paragraph, as in the two preceding sections of the volume, but broadens out to include the lexical structure of the sentence and even something of clause structure.

The language is Dibabawon and the discourse genre is *PROCEDURAL*. Nevertheless, my coauthor in this section has chosen to consider Dibabawon *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE* a subvariety of NARRATIVE DISCOURSE. The tagmemes on discourse and paragraph level are therefore labelled as under *NARRATIVE DISCOURSE* and NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH in the preceding section. Thus, the nuclear grammatical tagmemes of the discourse are labelled *EPISODES* rather than *PROCEDURES*, while the nuclear grammatical tagmemes of the paragraphs are labelled BUILD-UPS. This is not in itself confusing if it be kept in mind that *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSE* is here considered to be '*PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE*'. In labelling the lexical tagmemes of the discourse and paragraph, my coauthor has considered the former to be *STEP* and the latter EVENTS. Here a more serious tension sets in with the terminology used in the two earlier sections of this volume in that STEP is used in 2 of Section 2 to label the nuclear tagmemes of PROCEDURAL PARAGRAPHS.

A number of written game procurement discourses were collected from several informants who were not new literates although writing in their own language was a newly acquired skill. A few of the discourses on which the following analysis is based represent specific occurrences and these are *NARRATIVE* rather than *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES*. However, most of them are projected or procedural narrative. The *PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE* is presumably an innovation since such techniques have heretofore been learned by apprenticeship in early childhood. Paragraphs in such discourses, however, are assumed to be in keeping with the structure of paragraphs in oral tradition where brief instructions are given by a parent to children.

The chief formal difference noted between PROCEDURAL and SPECIFIC NARRATIVE has been in the usual forms of the exponents of Sentence Time Margins in the linkage systems of the two types. The latter usually employs a characteristic construction consisting of a gerund phrase marked by pag- or pagka-.[1] PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE also employs the pagka- gerund from, indicating a stative stem or nonintentive mood, but it usually employs a relator-axis construction whose relator is expounded by ko 'if/when' and whose axis is expounded by a clause. In some specific narratives no 'when', a specific relator, occurs in contrast to ko of procedural narrative. In other specific narratives the Time Margin is expounded by a Verbal Clause with no Relator but the tense of the verb is marked for immediate dependent tense. However, nowhere do these specific linkage clauses occur in the particular discourses being studied.

An attempt has been made to control rather rigidly the particular variety of discourses selected for this analysis. They have been limited to short discourses concerned with one general subject, that of game procurement. The greater number have been limited to PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE. The purpose of this limitation has been to facilitate distinction and correlation of the grammar and the lexicon (which more directly reflects the situation in levels above the clause) and to show the system of orientation on the higher levels. The discourses chosen lend themselves well to the present study. PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE is more tightly structured than the SPECIFIC NARRATIVE. GAME PROCUREMENT PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE in particular, is unlikely to include extraneous events which may prove optional, peripheral, or parenthetical in the discourse.

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[1] Dibabawon is a Philippine language of the Indonesian division of the Malayo-Polynesian family. It is of the Manobo subgroup. Recent figures are not available as to the number of speakers of this language. Estimates are between 5,000 and 10,000 persons. The Dibabawon people live between the Libuganon and the Agusan Rivers in Davao del Norte Province on the island of Mindanao. Dibabawons are contiguous with Agusan Manobos to the north, Ata Manobos of Davao to the west, and Mansakas (non-Manobo) to the south and east. Cebuano Visayan is the trade language of the area.

The Dibabawon orthography includes the following symbols: a, i, o, u, b, k, d, g, h, l, m, n, ng, p, s, t, w, y, (-,`). Vowel initial words are preceded by an unmarked glottal stop. Syllable final glottal stop is marked by grave accent. Elsewhere glottal stop is marked by hyphen. Complete stem reduplication is separated by hyphen. o represents pepet vowel. The diagraph ng represents the velar nasal. Other symbols of the Dibabawon orthography have the approximate value of these same symbols in Pilipino. Other symbols of Pilipino, English and Spanish occur in Dibabawon proper names.

Corresponding L-units (lexical units) and G-units (grammatical units) show similar hierarchical placement and size. Correlation between L-units and G-units on the same level may be positive (when units in the two modes are coterminous) or negative (when the units are not coterminous). As will be shown in this paper, there is a systematic negative correlation of some L-sentences relative to G-sentences in narrative discourse.

Correlation between three levels of grammar and lexicon--discourse, paragraph, and sentence--has been given special attention. Correlation of grammar and lexicon on a fourth level, that of the clause, is also considered briefly. The L-discourse or occurrence consists of a sequence of STEPS which correspond roughly to the EPISODES of a G-discourse. EPISODES are G-discourse level slots which are expounded by G-paragraphs. STEPS are L-discourse level slots that are expounded by L-paragraphs. While the G-paragraph consists of a string of tagmemes of which the BUILD-UPS are nuclear, the L-paragraph consists of a string of tagmemes of which the EVENTS are nuclear. BUILD-UP slots are expounded by G-sentences; EVENT slots are expounded by L-sentences. Finally, the G-clause can be correlated with the L-clause which reports an incident. No attempt is made here to give in any detail a correlation of grammar and lexicon in any discourse type except that of GAME PROCUREMENT PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE. Thus, non-narrative, non-procedural discourse and paragraph, non-eventive sentences, and non-verbal clauses are not within the main focus of this paper. Occasionally a G-clause is nominalized as a G-phrase. It remains, however, an L-clause--which encodes material vital to the L-sentence. An amplified noun phrase is considered an embedded clause which is vital also to the L-sentence. To this degree only we consider the G-phrase in this paper.

1 Orientation and Participant Roles.

Two cross-hierarchical features, orientation and participant roles, are here considered in reference to the discourse as an organic whole.

Orientation is best described in reference to the clause level. In the G-clause structure of various Philippine languages this system has been described in such terms as Voice or Focus, and Topic; or Focus and Focus Complement.[2] Thus, for a G-clause

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[2] See Howard McKaughan, The Inflection and Syntax of Maranao Verbs, Manila, (1958) pp. 13-24; Kenneth L. Pike, "A Syntactic Paradigm", Language, 39.216-30 (1963); Jannette Forster, "Dual Structure of Dibabawon Verbal Clauses", Oceanic Linguistics, Vol.III, Number 1, (Summer 1964) pp.26-48; Lawrence A. Reid, "An Ivatan Syntax", Special Publication No.2, Oceanic Linguistics (1966), Chapter II, pp.19-56.

(transitive) containing Subject, Object, Associate, and Referent, one of four voices (or focus) must be chosen for the verb which expounds the Predicate. According to the choice of focus the clause is oriented towards one of the four tagmemes mentioned; the tagmeme is called the Topic (or Focus Complement). In turn, however, the G-tagmemes of the G-clause are correlated with L-tagmemes (situational roles) within the L-clause. Thus, while the Actor of the L-clause is encoded as grammatical Subject, the Goal may be encoded as grammatical Object, a Referent, or Associate, while Instrument may also be encoded as grammatical Associate.[3] Orientation on the clause-level is, then, a grammatical device for calling attention to certain participant roles (ultimately in the lexicon). In discussing participant role and orientation of discourses and paragraphs, we discuss matters most clearly seen on the clause level but capable of extrapolation to higher levels as well.

1.1 On the Discourse Level.

The L-discourse and the G-discourse are necessarily coterminous in non-embedded discourses. In embedded discourses they need not, however, be coterminous. We may even posit an embedded discourse in one hierarchy but not in the other. Thus, an embedded L-discourse needs to be assumed if a single L-discourse step is expounded by several L-paragraphs,[4] while at the same time it may be possible to consider that the corresponding G-paragraphs simply constitute episodes of the main G-discourse.

When a series of L-paragraphs constitutes an embedded L-discourse as in the PREPARATION STEP of JG 4, the embedded discourse may not be of the same type as the embedding one. Thus, the embedded discourse in JG 4 is not itself a PROCUREMENT DISCOURSE but rather a discourse dealing with how to make something, viz. a birdblind. This type of PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE has not yet been analyzed. Presumably it also consists of a series of STEPS as does the PROCUREMENT DISCOURSE.

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[3] See Jannette Forster and Myra L. Barnard, "A Classification of Dibabawon Active Verbs" to appear in Lingua (1968).

[4] As stated in the Introduction, the theory of hierarchy on which this section is based assumes that unstructured strings of paragraphs do not occur in discourse. A string of paragraphs therefore must have structured unity. This unity is presumable on the discourse level--since paragraphs regularly expound discourse level tagmemes. See also R.E. Longacre, "Tagmemics" (in press) in special issue of WORD; "Hierarchy and Methodology" to be published in Results of the Linguistic Institute Conference on Methodology, UCLA, August 1-3, 1966.

1.1.1 Participant Roles.

The narrative sections of GAME PROCUREMENT DISCOURSES reveal three discourse level participant roles. Discourse participant roles are assumed by those participants specifically involved in the OUTCOME of the OCCURRENCE (the L-discourse) when correlated with the CLIMAX of the G-discourse. These three discourse level participant roles are initiator, objective, and props.

Initiator. The initiator is the hunter or hero of the game procurement narrative. At the L-clause level the initiator is the actor or causer in the action in which he participates. The initiator role is correlated with the Subject of the G-clause. He is the proposer in speech which substitutes for action in the chronological sequence of events. The initiator is the constant of the narrative sections, except in parenthetical, peripheral, or embedded constructions, where some other participant may have the lexical role of actor or causer.

Objective. The objective is that item toward which the activity is directed, that is the game. When occurring concurrently in the clause with the initiator it has the lexical role of Goal (grammatical Object, Associate, or Referent) except when it occurs in parenthetical, peripheral, or embedded constructions where it may have some other lexical role.

Props. There are several items that may be pertinent to the CLIMAX of the discourse that are classed as props, such as equipment used in the procurement of the game, posts of operation, and specific location. When explicit in the CLIMAX PARAGRAPH the props will most likely occur as lexical Instrument or Location on the clause level (the grammatical Associate and Referent respectively). The discourse props may have different participant roles in preclimax embedded discourses.

1.1.2 Orientation.

The orientation of the GAME PROCUREMENT OCCURRENCE (L-discourse) is likewise found in the OUTCOME STEP in which the game is actually procured. The OUTCOME STEP in the L-discourse corresponds to the CLIMAX EPISODE of the G-discourse. The objective is obligatorily the theme of the G-paragraph which expounds CLIMAX, that is it is correlated with the Topic of the G-clause whenever it occurs in a G-clause level slot in the paragraph nucleus.

The following is an OBJECTIVE ORIENTED NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH expounding the CLIMAX EPISODE of JG 2. It is required that the objective be the Topic of each clause in which it occurs in a G-clause level slot. In this paragraph the objective is the Topic of every clause and is the theme (1.2.2) of the whole paragraph. The Topic of each clause is underlined twice. It is zero morpheme when it is third person pronoun. JG 2.6 Na ko kita-on tad (0), ogpana-on tad sikan ambak asta ko kita-on nud sikan ambak no na-igu on, ogpuduton tad (0) asta ogpamantigan tad sikan mongo pu-ud no daduwa asta oglonggo-on tad sikan uu. 'Now when we see (them), we shoot the frogs and when you see the frog has been hit, we get (them) and break the two thighs and then we crush the head.'

1.2 On the Paragraph Level.

L-paragraphs and G-paragraphs are coterminous in so far as the STEPS of the L-discourse correlate positively with the EPISODES of the G-discourse. Paragraphs in the two hierarchies are not coterminous in at least the following two circumstances.

(1) Whenever part or all of the last sentence of a G-paragraph forms an L-sentence with the Time Margin of the first sentence of the following G-paragraph, there is skewing of the paragraphs. The L-sentence thus formed is the final sentence of its L-paragraph. Skewing of paragraph boundaries is common in PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE because of the use of Time Margins in the linkage system. See tree diagram of JG 1.7-13 (Vol. III).

(2) Occasionally part or all of the last sentence of a G-paragraph forms an L-paragraph with the Time Margin of the first sentence of the following G-paragraph, and the L-paragraph thus formed straddles the boundary of the two G-paragraphs. See tree diagram of JG 4.7-8 (Vol. III).

1.2.1 Participant Roles

There are no participant roles peculiar to the paragraph as such. Roles of participants in the G-paragraph expounding the CLIMAX EPISODE (correlating with the outcome step in the lexicon) are considered to be participant roles of the discourse. The roles of participants which are not directly involved in the CLIMAX EPISODE are considered to be participant roles of embedded or parenthetical discourse.

1.2.2 Orientation

Each narrative G-paragraph is oriented toward a participant which has a role in the discourse (whether main or embedded). The participant toward which the paragraph is oriented is the theme of the paragraph. The theme of the paragraph is that participant marked as Topic of at least one of the clauses of the sentence expounding the final BUILD-UP of the G-paragraph when this final BUILD-UP correlates positively with the final EVENT of the L-paragraph.[5] Furthermore, with the following exceptions which may potentially interrupt the orientation pattern, the theme of the paragraph is Topic of all the clauses where it occurs in the bases of sentences expounding BUILD-UPS of that paragraph: (1) clauses occurring in quotations, in peripheral constructions out of the chronological sequence, and in parenthetical or embedded constructions expounding paragraph slots (e.g., an explanatory paragraph expounding a BUILD-UP of a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH); (2) clauses whose predicate heads contain a verb whose stem has a specialized or fixed use with certain focus affixes. In 60,000 words of running text the verb stem *ponhik* 'climb' does not occur in the referent focus. Thus that toward which the actor climbs may be the paragraph theme even though it is not the Referent-as-topic of that particular clause. The verb stem *ulì* 'return' occurs in both intransitive and transitive clauses. One might expect it to occur in subject focus in either a transitive or intransitive clause. However, it has not been noted to occur in subject focus in a transitive clause. Although the Actor may be the paragraph theme, the Goal is in focus as Topic of the clause; (3) clauses occurring in the merged sentence--whose first base is filled by an intransitive clause and whose second base is filled by a clause with subject focus. Thus, if the objective is the theme of a paragraph, it would normally follow that within any clause where the objective occurs, that participant would be the lexical Goal, and the grammatical Object-as-topic. But if the participant in question occurs within a merged sentence, while the second clause may be transitive (and thus take the participant as object), it may not make the Object the Topic. Thus, the following sentence occurs in a paragraph where *isdà* 'fish' is paragraph theme: *Ogpanglingì-lingì kid to isdà* 'We turned our heads this way and that for the fish'. The second verb has been deleted from the fuller form of the sentence: *Ogpanglingì-lingì kid ogpangahà-ahà to isdà* 'We turned our heads this way and that looking for the fish'. Whether one verb occurs or both, in either case both clauses are subject focus in this example. 'Fish', the theme of the paragraph is not Topic of either clause but 'hunter' (understood) is Topic of both. The sentence pattern itself, that of the merged sentence prohibits making *isdà* 'fish' Object-as-topic.

These three situations in which paragraph theme is not Topic of the clause are respectively conditioned by: (1) material out of the main flow of the paragraph; (2) stem classes limited as to verb focus; and (3) restriction within a given sentence pattern.

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[5] The validity of this orientation analysis has not been tested beyond the narrow limits of the data presently under consideration.

2. Lexicon and Grammar

The lexical and grammatical discourse, paragraph, and sentence are now distinguished and correlated with each other. The summary chart (2.3.7) displays G-syntagmeme (construction) and G-tagmeme (function-set) in comparison and contrast with L-syntagmeme and L-tagmeme.

2.1 Discourse Level

2.1.1 The L-Discourse (The OCCURRENCE).[6]

The OCCURRENCE (L-discourse) which relates game procurement has the following lexical slot-class structure: + Step$_a$ (INTRODUCTION) + Step$_1$ (PREPARATION)+ Step$_2$ (CONTACT) + Step$_3$ (OPERATION) ± Step$_4$ (CONSOLIDATION) ± Step$_5$ (CONCLUSION) ± Step$_b$ (TERMINATION).

Step$_a$ (INTRODUCTION) is an obligatory slot in which the author attempts to introduce to his audience or reader the events of his narrative. The time, place, season, weather, characters, and method of procedure when specified are usually given in the introduction. Step$_a$ and Step$_b$ have to do with metalanguage, that is language about language.

Step$_1$ (PREPARATION) is an obligatory slot which may include embedded occurrences as may the other actual procedure steps. The embedded discourses often have to do with selection of a site of operation and obtainment of equipment either by procurement or construction.

Step$_2$ (CONTACT) is an obligatory slot which includes searching for and finding the game, or the game's coming to the trap set for it. Change to a more specific location may belong either to the contact step or to the preparation step.

Step$_3$ (OPERATION or OUTCOME) is an obligatory slot in which the game is procured.

Step$_4$ (CONSOLIDATION) is an optional slot in which the hunter makes preparation for utilizing the game.

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[6] The basic concept of the highly structured occurrence of game procedure comprising certain obligatory steps came from an article on folklore by Allen Dundes. See "Structural Typology in North American Indian Folktales", Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, 19:1 (Spring 1963) pp.121-130. I am considering the step of the occurrence to be roughly equivalent to Dundes' motifemic slot. In his article Dundes uses some of the terminology and theory of Kenneth L. Pike. See Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behavior, three parts, Glendale, California, Summer Institute of Linguistics (1954-1960). (Revised edition, Mouton, The Hague, (1967), chapter 6.)

Step$_5$ (CONCLUSION) is an optional slot which in some way brings to a conclusion the series of actual procedure STEPS, e.g. by leaving the scene of action or resetting a trap.

OCCURRENCE STEPS may occur which ordinarily would be considered STEPS in another OCCURRENCE, such as the utilization of the product procured. See JG 2.15-17, tree diagram (Vol.III).

Step$_b$ (TERMINATION) is an optional slot. A brief summary of activities may be given as well as the source or authorship of the report.

An alternate STEP may be given in PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE. The only one noted in the present corpus is an alternate conclusion correlated with a Cause Margin in JG 1.16. See tree diagram.

2.1.2 The G-Discourse

The grammatical discourse has the following structure: + TITLE + APERTURE + (+ PRECLIMAX EPISODE$_1$ ± PRECLIMAX EPISODE$_2$) + CLIMAX EPISODE ± (+ POSTCLIMAX EPISODE$_1$ ± POSTCLIMAX EPISODE$_2$) ± FINIS.

TITLE is an obligatory slot even though it probably is one imposed from school training. Nevertheless it must be reckoned with since it may have a bearing on what follows in the linkage system. Oral narration usually begins with a complete sentence something like the following, 'I will tell you about how it was during the war'. The TITLE slot in the written texts of our corpus is expounded by a noun, a gerund, a gerund phrase, or a noun phrase one slot of which is filled by an included gerund phrase or a clause. When orientation is marked it is usually toward the initiator of the discourse. TITLE is one of the discourse grammatical slots that is correlated with the lexical slot of INTRODUCTION.

APERTURE is an optional slot expounded by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH whose slots may be expounded by sentences or embedded paragraphs either EXPLANATORY or NARRATIVE.

PRECLIMAX EPISODE$_1$ is obligatory and PRECLIMAX EPISODE$_2$ is optional but occurs in most of the discourses of the present corpus. The lexical STEPS of PREPARATION and CONTACT correlate with these EPISODES. At the inmost layer of discourse embedding narrative paragraphs expounding episodes are oriented toward a discourse level participant role. In the present corpus paragraphs correlated with the CONTACT STEP are objective oriented, while those correlated with the PREPARATION STEP often occur in several layers of embedding and may be oriented toward either the initiator or one or more of the props. The CONTACT STEP may appear to correlate with a props oriented paragraph when a prop and the objective are very closely associated as the lair and the pig inside the lair in JG 3.7. *Dayun ko kumita kad to mgo kobong, ogpangunug-unugon tad dow andi-i sikan kandan dugmun.* 'Then when you find the tracks, you follow to where their lair is.' EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS substituting in the chronological sequence of events may expound these *EPISODES*.

CLIMAX EPISODE is obligatory, correlates with the *OPERATION STEP* or the outcome of the *OCCURRENCE*, and when expounded by a NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH, the paragraph is objective oriented.

POSTCLIMAX EPISODE$_1$ and *POSTCLIMAX EPISODE*$_2$ are optional and are expounded by paragraphs that are correlated with the *STEPS* of *CONSOLIDATION* or *CONCLUSION*. NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS expounding the *EPISODES* which are correlated with *CONSOLIDATION* are objective oriented while those correlated with *CONCLUSION* are initiator or props oriented. Optional *STEPS* such as *UTILIZATION* may occur that correlate with a further *POSTCLIMAX EPISODE*. However, these are usually considered a *STEP* of another *OCCURRENCE* say, for example, on how to prepare food.

FINIS is an optional slot and is expounded by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. It correlates with the *TERMINATION STEP*.

2.2 Paragraph Level

2.2.1 The L-Paragraph

2.2.11 The L-NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH

Corresponding to the *EPISODE* of the G-discourse is the *STEP* of the L-discourse. Barring embedded discourses and level-skipping (e.g. an *EPISODE* slot expounded by a single sentence), *EPISODES* are expounded by G-paragraphs and *STEPS* are expounded by L-paragraphs. Internally, while the nucleus of a G-paragraph consists of a series of BUILD-UP SLOTS, the nucleus of an L-paragraph consists of a series of EVENTS. Both BUILD-UP SLOTS and EVENTS entail chronological sequence. The one, however, is filled by a G-sentence; the other, by the L-sentence, some varieties of which are systematically askew with the G-sentences. The EVENTS progress to a peak in which attention (orientation in the grammar) is drawn to an important participant role relevant to the outcome of the *OCCURRENCE*.

Constituent slots of the L-paragraph are ± STAGE + EVENT^n ± FLASHBACK ± PROJECTION ± CODA (close of some kind). The optional FLASHBACK and PROJECTION tagmemes may interlard between the activities or states.

STAGE is optional and gives information which prepares for the following events as in JG 4.4-5. (JG 4.4) (STAGE: L-S VII) ...og-usipon kud to kanak no ka-ugalingon to "Ogdangonan ku to lubungan kasoom no adow." (JG 4.5) EVENT: L-S I) Dayun ko og-kabukas on to adow, to ogpangahà ad to liyung asta buu. (JG 4.4) '...I say to myself, "I will build a birdblind there tomorrow." (JG 4.5) Then when it is daybreak, I search for liyung and buu bamboo...'

EVENT is obligatory of which there may be any number. EVENT slots are filled by L-sentences which are complexes involving similar or repeated words across boundaries of G-sentences. Any dependent or concurrent actions which may be involved usually do not straddle G-sentence boundaries.

FLASHBACK and PROJECTION are optional in the L-narrative paragraph. FLASHBACK refers to something that has already transpired usually within the narrative itself, but is not restricted to this. A PROJECTION refers to something which has not yet transpired in the narrative. FLASHBACK and PROJECTION correlate in the grammar with a paragraph PARENS, a sentence Margin, or an amplification of an amplified noun phrase.

In the following example from JG 2.1 the FLASHBACK of 'making a metal-tipped-arrow' correlates with an amplified noun phrase and refers to an activity outside and prior to the narrative. The PROJECTION of 'shooting frogs' correlates with the Purpose Margin and refers to a future activity or state within the narrative. Una, to ogpangambak ki, ogpudut ki to tampulin no oghinangon ta, pada igpanà ta to ambak, asta oghimu ki to busug.

flashback projection

(JG2.1) 'First, when we go frog-hunting we get a metal-tipped-arrow which we have made, so that we can use it to shoot frogs.'

flashback projection

The following FLASHBACK corresponds to the PARENS in the narrative G-paragraph and refers to a previous activity or state in the narrative. SEb1. 7-9 (SEb1. 7) BU$_1$) Og-ikotan sikan kayu aw sikan dodo-unan. (SEb1. 8) (BU$_2$) Ig-ikot sikan bagon diyà to sanga to kayu no ogbatunan sikan kasangkapan to lubungan. (SEb1. 9) (PARENS, correlates with the FLASHBACK which refers to BU$_1$) Inikot sikan batà diyà to saad. (SEb1. 7) (BU$_1$~EV$_1$) 'He will tie the wood and the leaves with rattan.' (SEb1. 8) (BU$_2$~EV$_2$ and PROJECTION) 'They tie the rattan to a branch of the tree where they will hoist the materials for the birdblind.' (SEb1. 9) (PARENS, correlates with the FLASHBACK which refers to BU$_1$) 'The child will do the tying (of the materials) under the tree.'

CODA is optional and usually closes the series of EVENTS in some way as by giving a summary of EVENTS or some emotional reaction of a participant to the EVENTS. It may correlate with TERMINUS as in AGb12.18-19. (AGb12.18) (BU$_n$~EV$_3$ and EV$_n$) Dayun pighubadan din aw sagopuha din. (AGb12.19) (TER~CODA) Konad no tukhow din su napudut din. (AGb12.18) (BU$_n$~EV$_3$ and EV$_n$) 'Then he tied up its feet and clutched it under his arm. (AGb12.19) (TER~CODA) He was really happy because he had gotten it.' CODA of the L-paragraph may correlate with a Time Margin at the beginning of another G-paragraph as in JG 2.6-7 (JG 2.6) (BU$_n$ of CLIMAX EPISODE) Na ko kita-on tad, (~EV$_1$) ogpana-on tad sikan ambak asta ko kita-on nud sikan ambak no na-igù on, (~EV$_2$) ogpuduton tad (~EV$_3$) asta ogpamantigan tad sikan mongo pu-ud no daduwa (~EV$_n$) asta oglonggo-on tad sikan uu. (JG 2.7) (BU$_1$ of POSTCLIMAX EPISODE) (~CODA) Na ko aha-on nud to konad ogpaka-isù, igbogoy tad ko moy duma nu no batà sikan ambak. (JG 2.6) (BU$_n$ of CLIMAX EPISODE) 'Now when we see them, (~EV$_1$) we shoot the frogs and when you see that the frog has been hit (~EV$_2$) we get them and (EV$_3$) break the thighs and (EV$_n$) then we crush the head. (JG 2.7) (BU$_1$ of POSTCLIMAX EPISODE) (~CODA) Now when you see that it can not move (EV$_1$) we give to him if you have a child companion, the frog.' (See Tree diagram of JG 2).

2.2.12 L-METALANGUAGE PARAGRAPH

The L-METALANGUAGE PARAGRAPH consists of + SUMMARY ± SOURCE.

The minimal L-METALANGUAGE PARAGRAPH, SUMMARY, may expound either STEP$_a$ (INTRODUCTION) or STEP$_b$ (TERMINATION). The expanded L-METALANGUAGE PARAGRAPH, SUMMARY SOURCE, in the present corpus expounds only STEP$_b$ (TERMINATION) which correlates with TEXT and EXPO of an EXPLANATORY G-paragraph. The slots of the METALANGUAGE PARAGRAPH are expounded by Reportorial L-sentences.

The following example is of the expanded L-METALANGUAGE PARAGRAPH, SUMMARY SOURCE, expounding STEP$_b$ and correlating with TEXT and EXPO of an EXPLANATORY G-paragraph. JG 2.18-19 (JG 2.18) (SUMMARY) Na sikan dà to kadodoog ko ogpuduton sikan no sodà. (JG 2.19) (SOURCE) Hinimu ni Inasaw no istudiya ko ogpangambak natodu-on. (JG 2.18) (SUMMARY) 'Now that is all the procedure when we get that kind of viand. (JG 2.19) (SOURCE) This story was made by Inasaw about when we went frog-hunting before.'

The following example is of the minimal L-METALANGUAGE PARAGRAPH, SUMMARY, expounding STEP$_a$ (INTRODUCTION). The paragraph itself is expounded by a single Reportorial L-sentence which embeds other L-sentence types. The Reportorial L-sentence correlates with TITLE and APERTURE in the grammar. JG 1. Title-sentence 2. (TITLE) Nawnangonon to ogpangisdà ki. (JG 1.1) Una, ogdaa ki to daduwa no katingub. (JG 1.2) Iyan ngadan sikan to mongo antipada asta bidyù. (TITLE) 'A report of when we go fishing. (JG 1.1) First, we take two pieces of equipment. (JG 1.2) The names of these are the goggles and the metal arrow.' The lexical unity of the *TITLE* and the first two grammatical sentences is seen in the fact that altogether they amount to 'I'm reporting on how we fish with goggles and arrows'.

In the following example outside the corpus the SUMMARY and SOURCE correlate with a TEXT of an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH expounded by a single sentence. AG8.5 *So-i no sulat, tutuwanon ku to talabahu to amoy ku diyà to kaguwanganan.* 'This writing is my report about the work of my father in the forest.'

2.2.13 The L-SPEECH PARAGRAPH

In this corpus of *PROCEDURAL DISCOURSES* the occurrence of L-SPEECH PARAGRAPHS is restricted to embedded paragraphs with a single statement or a single exchange between participants.

The first type of this restricted L-SPEECH PARAGRAPH consists of + PROPOSAL + RESPONSE ± FLASHBACK ± PROJECTION. The PROPOSAL slot is expounded by a *Reportorial* L-sentence. The RESPONSE may be either verbal or nonverbal. If it is verbal it is expounded by a *Reportorial* L-sentence or an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH.[7] If the RESPONSE is nonverbal it is expounded by other L-sentence types. FLASHBACK and PROJECTION are expounded by other L-sentence types and usually correlate with sentence margins or amplified noun phrases.

The PROPOSAL corresponds to the INITIATING SPEECH in the G-DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS. The RESPONSE, verbal or non-verbal corresponds to the ENSUING SPEECH in the G-DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH.

The following example of this L-SPEECH PARAGRAPH comprises PROPOSAL, embedded FLASHBACK, and RESPONSE from JG 2.15-16. (JG 2.15) *Na ko og-abut on kandan diyà to baoy dan, og-iling on sikan mawmaniga-on to "Inoy, tuwahad sikan napudut noy no ambak."*

flashback

proposal

(JG 2.16) *Dayun og-iling on sikan inoy to "Na, Utù, agad man."*

response

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[7] As stated in the Introduction to this section, non-procedural discourse and paragraph are out of the scope of the present study. Thus, some sort of explanatory L-paragraph may be needed as well as an explanatory G-paragraph (already posited in the grammar of several Philippine languages). Nevertheless, at this point we, for the present, simply exit from lexicon to the grammar and state the exponents of these unanalyzed lexical paragraphs in terms of their corresponding grammatical units.

(JG 2.15) 'Now when they have arrived at their house, the older one will say, "$\underbrace{\text{Mother, cook our catch of frogs / }\underbrace{\text{the frogs which we have caught.}}_{\text{flashback}}}_{\text{proposal}}$" (JG 2.16) Then the mother will say, "$\underbrace{\text{All right Son.}}_{\text{response}}$"'

The second type of this restricted L-SPEECH PARAGRAPH consists of + STATEMENT ± EVALUATION. The minimal paragraph of this second type, STATEMENT, may correlate with a slot in the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. The following example shows such a minimal paragraph expounding STAGE which correlates with SETTING in a G-NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. JG4.4 Na ko ogkita ad to dag-an no manuk-manuk no ogdapù du-on sikan no kayu, og-usipon kud to kanak no ka-ugalingon to "Ogdangonan ku to lubungan kasoom no adow." ('Now when I see many birds sipping from that tree,) I say to myself, "I will build a birdblind there tomorrow."'

The following is an example of the expanded L-SPEECH PARAGRAPH of the second type, STATEMENT EVALUATION. The STATEMENT is a hypothetical one which the author ascribes to his audience and the EVALUATION is the author's answer to the hypothetical STATEMENT. The STATEMENT correlates with INITIATING SPEECH and EVALUATION correlates with ENSUING SPEECH of the G-DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH. The INITIATING SPEECH slot is expounded by a Direct Quote G-sentence and the ENSUING SPEECH slot is expounded by an embedded EXPLANATORY G-paragraph. JG 3.12-15 (JG 3.12) (STATEMENT~INITIATING SPEECH: DQS) Na ko sikuna, "Na-igù on kay ton babuy." (JG 3.13) (EVALUATION~ENSUING SPEECH: EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH TEXT) Na dì ogdaa kad su ko ma-aslag, madoson man oglaguwat asta ko moy ngipon iyan ogpakapalì ikow. (JG 3.14) (EXPO of EXPL. PARA.) (BU$_1$ of embedded NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH) Dayun ko kita-on nud sikan uu no ogpakalogwà dayun nud tigbasa agun ogluya. (JG 3.15) (BU$_n$) Dayun to ogbutayon nud to ogtinigbas agad andi-i togdoog. (JG 3.12) (STATEMENT~INITIATING SPEECH: DQS) 'Now you figure, "Aha, the pig is hit!" (JG 3.13) (EVALUATION~ENSUING SPEECH: EXPL. PARA. TEXT) Now you must keep the upper hand because if it is big, it struggles hard, and if it has tusks, it can wound you. (JG 3.14) (EXPO of EXPL. PARA.) (BU$_1$ of embedded NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH) Then if you see the head protruding, then slash it so it will weaken. (JG 3.15) (BU$_n$) Then you continue slashing whichever way it goes.'

2.2.2 The G-Paragraph

2.2.21 The G-NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH.

The GRAMMATICAL NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH consists of the following: ± SETTING + BUILD-UP^n ± PARENS ± TERMINUS.

SETTING is optional and is correlated with STAGE in the lexicon as in SEb1. 5 *To ogkadap-ug on to mongo kayu aw mongo do-un ogpon-ik on diyà di-atas sikan oglubunganan*. 'When the wood and leaves have been collected they will climb up to where they will build the birdblind.'

BUILD-UPS are the nuclear slots of the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS. There may be any number of BUILD-UPS. They roughly correspond to the EVENTS in the lexicon. The BUILD-UPS are linked together by potential *Time Margins* of the sentences, a repetition or a close synonym of an incident in the L-sentence expounding the previous EVENT. The final BUILD-UP (BU_n) when correlated positively with EVENT_n in the lexicon contains a clause whose Topic is the theme of the paragraph. It is the Topic wherever it occurs in that paragraph except for the restrictions listed in 1.2.2.

A *Coordinate* G-sentence which is a loose aggregate of clauses, is transformable to a series of *Simple Sentences* which fill separate BUILD-UPS of the paragraph. The *CLIMAX EPISODE* of JG 2 consists of BU_n filled with only one *Coordinate Sentence* but which is transformable to a series of BUILD-UPS expounded by *Simple Sentences*. AGb12.6 is a *Coordinate Sentence* which is transformable to *Simple Sentences* of which the final sentence could potentially fill a TERMINUS thus correlating with the beginning of the lexical paragraph which expounds *CONTACT*.

The fact that the *Coordinate* G-sentence is transformable to a series of *Simple* G-sentences argues that the *Coordinate* G-sentence correlates with several L-sentences. Normally, it will correlate with as many L-sentences as the number of component clauses chained together in the *Coordinate* G-sentence. There is, however, the possibility that some special relationship may occur between two successive clauses and thus bind them together into an embedded L-sentence.

This difference of G-sentence and L-sentence makes for a very significant difference in the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS in the two hierarchies. The BUILD-UPS of the G-paragraph group the incidents which are reported in whatever way the speaker chooses to group them. The resultant chain of BUILD-UP tagmemes therefore reflects heavily the conceptualizing activity of the speaker in regard to the grouping of incidents which are then chained together as exponents of BUILD-UPS. The L-paragraph, on the other hand, reports the incidents atomistically without this sort of grouping. Here, again, the lexicon reflects more the actual situation than does the grammar.

TERMINUS is optional and is correlated with CODA in the L-paragraph or with the initial EVENT of an L-paragraph.

PARENS (parenthetical material) may occur correlating with a FLASHBACK or PROJECTION in the Lexicon.

NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH slots in the GAME PROCUREMENT DISCOURSES when not filled by embedded constructions are usually filled by a Simple Sentence, Juxtaposed Sentence, or one of the Concatenated Sentences. Quotation and Cognitive Sentences may expound these slots when correlated with actions or states that substitute in the chronological sequence.

2.2.22 The EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH.

EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS which occur in these NARRATIVE DISCOURSES are rudimentary structures which consist of + TEXT ± EXPO with the potential of embedding. The peak of the EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH is at the beginning rather than at the end as in the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. The EXPO is a further development of the TEXT. While Time Margins are pertinent to the linkage system of NARRATIVE PARAGRAPHS, Cause Purpose, and Conditional Margins as well as the Peripheral Sentence Topic are pertinent to the linkage system of EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPHS.

2.2.23 The DIALOGUE PARAGRAPH

DIALOGUE PARAGRAPHS occur only as embedded paragraphs in the present corpus. Again, they are rudimentary structures whose constituent slots are + INITIATING SPEECH + ENSUING SPEECH. The INITIATING SPEECH slot is expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence. The ENSUING SPEECH SLOT, when correlated with verbal RESPONSE, may be expounded by a Direct Quote Sentence. When correlated with nonverbal RESPONSE the ensuing speech slot is expounded by other sentence types. It may be expounded by an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH when correlated with EVALUATION in the lexicon.

2.3 The Sentence Level.

L-sentences and G-sentences are not considered separately here, nor are the latter described in detail here. The complexity of the G-sentence is such that it is given separate treatment elsewhere.[8] Rather we show here that there is an L-sentence as well as a G-sentence. The former is sketched in regard to L-sentence types and their component L-sentence tagmemes. As each type of L-sentence is presented, it is correlated with the G-sentence types to which it corresponds. The corresponding G-sentence types are those most common to NARRATIVE DISCOURSES, i.e. the Simple, Juxtaposed, Merged, and Concatenated G-sentence types. Other sentence types, however, such as Direct and Indirect Quotations, Cognitive, and Conditional G-sentences, may also substitute for incidents in chronological sequence and thus have correlates among the L-sentences of this discourse genre type.

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[8] Miss Jannette Forster has supplied the information pertinent to the G-sentence in this paper as well as information pertinent to the G-phrase on the tree diagrams. She has done the final draft (with some accompanying analysis) of the extensive tree diagrams of the lexicon and grammar which accompany several of the discourses supplementing this study (Vol. III). Analysis in the lexical hierarchy has been done in consultation with Miss Forster.

While the G-sentence expounds a BUILD-UP slot in the G-paragraph, the L-sentence expounds an EVENT slot in the L-paragraph. L-sentence types I-V consist of one action or state or two actions or states which are simultaneous or in close logical relationship. Etically they may therefore encode a complex of such actions or states. Nevertheless, the L-sentences of the L-paragraph correlate more closely with the actual actions or states of a sequence than do the G-sentences. In some L-sentence types the second of two related actions or states in some way exploits material from the first action or state in order to provide a time setting for the following G-sentence. The L-sentence straddles the boundary of the G-sentences when such a time setting initiates a following G-sentence.

In reporting an event a speaker or writer may inject his own evaluation of actions or states in explanatory material which is encoded grammatically as Cause or Purpose Margins in G-sentences. Time Margins as setting, Cause Margins, and Purpose Margins as evaluations are not as such relevant to the chronological sequence of actions and states. But they are relevant when the speaker or writer uses them as a substitute for an action or state in the chronological sequence. Quotations and explanatory material are also relevant to the chronological sequence of actions or states when substituting for actions or states.

Absolute time settings may be indicated which differ from other time settings in that they are not part of the linkage system.

The mutual relation of two actions or states in an L-sentence may be that of repetition, reciprocity, continuance, contingence, or simultaneity. This difference of possible relations gives us five contrasting varieties of Eventive L-sentences. In all these types an absolute Time Setting may occur as a periphery of the L-sentence.

Aside from the minimal L-sentence of type I the *Eventive* L-sentences report more than one action or state. The relationship between any two such actions or states is defined below with indication of possible embedding.

2.3.1 *L-Sentence* *Type* *I* (+ *Relatum*$_1$ ± *Relatum*$_2$)

In *L-Sentence* *Type* *I*, the nucleus consists of + *Relatum*$_1$ ± *Relatum*$_2$. *Relatum*$_2$ is filled by a lexical string which either repeats the verb encoding the action or state of *Relatum*$_1$ or employs a synonym of it. Grammatically such lexical repetitions are gerunds (marked with *pag*-/*pagka*-) or are relator-axis constructions (marked by *ko*/*no* 'when') with the axis filled by a clause. They initiate the next G-sentence but group lexically with what is in the preceding G-sentence. In that the following G-sentence does not obligatorily begin with such a recapitulation of previous lexical material we mark *Relatum*$_2$ as optional.

2.3.11 *Minimal* *L-Sentence* *Type* *I*, Lexical Relatum (+ *Relatum*)

The nucleus of the *Minimal* *L-Sentence* *Type* *I* consists of *Relatum*. It reports but one action or state and usually correlates with a *Simple* G-sentence ± *Margins* which do not substitute for an incident in the chronological sequence, as in the following examples. JG 4.7 *Dayun* *ogpamudut* *ad* *to* *bahì* *asta* *kayu*, *bagon*. 'Then I *get* the palm, the round wood, and the rattan.' JG 4.5 *Dayun* *ko* *ogkabukas* *on* *to* *adow* *to* *ogpangahà* *ad* *to* *liyung* *asta* *buu* *no* *pada* *igpanà* *ku* *to* *manuk-manuk*. 'Then when it is daybreak I *search* for *liyung* and *buu* bamboo so that I can shoot birds with it.'

Such a *Minimal* *L-sentence* may correlate with the *Time* *Margin* of a G-sentence when the *Time* *Margin* substitutes for a previously unmentioned incident in the chronological sequence. Such a chronological sequence has a"skip-link" structure in that one of the actions or states which would usually be encoded in the nucleus of a G-sentence expounding a BUILD-UP is not thus encoded but is given rather in the *Time* *Margin* of the next sentence. This *Time* *Margin* refers back then to an incident assumed in the series but never otherwise overtly mentioned. In the following sequence of sentences 'getting the bamboo' is encoded only in the *Time* *Margin* of sentence 6. JG 4. 5-6. (JG 4.5) *Dayun* *ko* *ogkabukas* *on* *to* *adow* *to* *ogpanpahà* *ad* *to* *liyung* *asta* *buu* *no* *pada* *igpanà* *ku* *to* *manuk-manuk*. (JG 4.6) *Dayun* *ko* *matibò* *on* *mapudut* *ku* *sikan* *daduwa* *no* *katingub*, *tunud* *asta* *buu*, *og-andiya-an* *kud* *sikan* *pig-indanan* *ku* *no* *tipdas* *no* *nigbogas*. (JG 4.5) 'Then when it is daybreak I search for *liyung* and *buu* bamboo so that I can shoot birds with it. (JG 4.6) Then when I have *gotten* those two pieces of equipment, the arrow shafts and heads, I go to the tipdas tree which I had noted was bearing fruit.' A discourse on the same subject by a different author gives this activity in a sentence base rather than in a margin. SEb1. 2-3 (SEb1.2) Pagkita to manuk-manuk no ogdapù, ogpangita on to liyung no ogpada ogtunudon. (SEb1.3) Dayun ogpudut sikan liyung aw tu-ida diyà to kayu aw sangoni to buu no og-idoban aw busug no ana-aw. (SEb1.2) 'When they see the birds are feeding they will look for liyung bamboo so that they can make arrows.(SEb1.3) Then they get the liyung bamboo and straighten it in the fire and insert in it a pointed bamboo and (...get) a palm bow.'

2.3.12 Expanded L-Sentence Type I, Lexical Relata (Relatum$_1$ Relatum$_2$)

The nucleus of the Expanded L-sentence Type I consists of Relatum$_1$ Relatum$_2$. In the following examples Relatum$_1$ correlates with a G-sentence nucleus and Relatum$_2$ correlates with the Time Margin of the following G-sentence. The first example of lexical relata employs repetition. AGb12.16-17 (AGb12.16) Pagkita ni Amandu Ubang to nakasangkag on, piglapugad din on aw dawata din. (AGb12.17) Pagkadawat din mapo-it-po-it on to ngangang to kadlaganon. (AGb12.16) 'When Amandu Ubang saw him sprawled he jumped over to it and picked it up. (AGb12.17) When he picked it up, the wild rooster let out a hoarse squawk.'

While Relatum$_2$ of the above L-sentence is a repetition of Relatum$_1$, in the following L-sentence from AGb12.8-9 Relatum$_2$ 'sitting still' is a close synonym of Relatum$_1$ 'not moving'. (AGb12.8) Kaling dì ampan din to dagpi-on astà ampan ogpanghisù-hisù kandin. (AGb12.9) Pagdonò din puli dà nigpasu to pig-ingkudan, nig-pamagukpuk on to kati-an din aw taga-uk. (AGb12.8) 'Therefore he would not slap them (insects) and he would not move. (AGb12.9) While he was sitting still, his seat was no more than warm when his decoy flapped his wings and crowed.'

2.3.2 L-Sentence Type II, Lexical Reciprocals (+ Reciprocal$_1$ + Reciprocal$_2$)

In L-sentence Type II, the nucleus consists of + Reciprocal$_1$ + Reciprocal$_2$. Grammatically, constructions corresponding to lexical Reciprocal$_2$ are gerunds marked by pag-/pagka- or they are relator-axis constructions marked by ko/no with the axis filled by a clause. They initiate the next G-sentence but group lexically with what is in the preceding G-sentence. The actions or states of lexical Reciprocals usually involve different participants.

Only one occurrence of lexical Reciprocals has been noted in this corpus. In AGb12.9-10 Reciprocal$_2$ correlates with an embedded Indirect Quote Sentence occurring in the Time Margin of sentence 10. (AGb12.9) Pagdonò din puli dà nigpasù to pig-ingkudan, nigpamagukpuk on to kati-an din aw taga-uk. (AGb12.10) Pagdinog din to nigtaga-uk on nigpakikilos on kandin... (AGb12.9) 'While he was sitting still, his seat was no more than warm when his decoy flapped his wings and crowed. (AGb12.10) When he heard him crow he held his breath...'

In two other discourses outside the present corpus the lexical Reciprocals also correlate with G-constructions across G-sentence boundaries, the second incident likewise occurring in the Time Margin of the second sentence. Nangonan ad man to ogsubà to mongo Moros asta Japon ko intaa to mabaya-an to og-ubuson on og-imatayan ko mabaya-an to otow. Pagdinog ku sikan, nig-ipanow ad kay ogkabaya-an man kan kanak no og-ugpa-an. 'I was told that the Moros and the Japanese were coming upstream and whenever they passed a person they would kill him whoever he was whom they passed. When I heard that, I left because my dwelling was right on the way.' Dayun ko moy makita-an din no agung, igbaylu din on man sikan udipon to agung. Na ko madawat on kan udipon to tagtu-un to agung ko oghimatayan on sikan udipon. 'Then if there is a gong that he sees, he trades off the slave for the gong. Now when the owner of the gong receives the slave he can kill him if (he wants to).'

2.3.3 L-Sentence Type III, Lexical Continuants (+ Continuant$_1$ + Continuant$_2$)

In L-sentence Type III, the nucleus consists of + Continuant$_1$ + Continuant$_2$. L-sentence Type III usually straddles G-sentence boundaries with Continuant$_2$ encoded in the Time Margin of the second G-sentence. The Time Margin slots are expounded by gerund or relator-axis constructions as in L-sentence Types I and II. Lexical Continuants involve the same participants and there is a continuation or a completion of the action or state. The following are lexical Continuants, 'go' and 'arrive', 'make' and 'finish making'. JG 2.2-3 (JG 2.2) Dayun og-andiyà ki to sapà. (JG 2.3) Pag-abut to tiyà to wohig, ogpangahà kid to otoug to ambak. (JG 2.2) 'Then we go to the brook. (JG 2.3) When we arrive at the water we look for frog eggs.' SEb1.12-13 (SEb1.12) Imu-on sikan do-un oglimpugukon. (SEb1.13) Pagka-tapus to konad ogkakita-an sikan otow du-on to sood, ogludus on kandin. (SEb1.12) 'He makes the (birdblind) round using the leaves. (SEb1.13) When he has finished (making) the place where the person cannot be seen inside, he will shinny down the tree.'

The following are lexical Continuants with embedded Simultaneous L-sentences. JG4.3-4 (JG 4.3) Na ko sikan on no buwan, oglahok-lahok ad diyà to guwangan ogpangahà a to tipdas no o

simultant$_1$
simultant$_1$
simultant$_2$
simultant$_2$
continuant$_1$

(JG 4.4...) Na ko ogkita ad to dag-an no manuk-manuk...

continuant$_1$

'Now when it is that month,
I tramp the woods, looking for a tipdas tree, bearing fruit.

simultant$_1$ simultant$_1$

simultant$_2$

simultant$_2$

continuant$_1$

Now when I see many birds...'

continuant$_2$

The following are lexical Continuants with embedded Delineatory L-sentences. JG 1.7-9 (JG 1.7) Dayun ko makumplitu sikan daduwa no katingub, og-andiyà kid to wohig, no madag-an to isdà.

delineated delineator

delineated

con-

(JG 1.8) Iyan ngadan sikan no wohig to Magtagoktok.

delineator

tinuant$_1$

(JG 1.9) Dayun ko og-abut kid,...

continuant$_2$

'Then when those two pieces of equipment are complete,
we go to the river, that has a lot of fish.

delineated delineator

delineated

con-

(JG 1.8) The name of that river is "Magtagoktok."

delineator

tinuant$_1$

(JG 1.9...) Then when we arrive...'

continuant$_2$

2.3.4 L-Sentence Type IV, Lexical Contingents (+ Contingent$_1$ + Contingent$_2$)

The nucleus of L-Sentence Type IV consists of + Contingent$_1$ + Contingent$_2$. When an action or state is dependent on the previous action or state and is in the chronological sequence with it then it is a Contingent action or state. L-sentence Type IV usually correlates with grammatical constructions within the boundaries of a single G-sentence, e.g. the Sentence Base and a Postposed Margin. It may correlate with bases of a Coordinate Sentence one of which is transformable to a Postposed Margin. L-sentence Type IV may also correlate with the sentence bases of a Conditional Sentence.

In the following sentence, JG 4.15 the games's 'dying quickly' is dependent on a 'direct hit'. This Contingent L-sentence correlates with the base of a Simple Sentence and the Postposed Purpose Margin. $\underbrace{\text{Dini ta to ogpa-igu-an to dagaha}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ pada $\underbrace{\text{ogkisanon.}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$ $\underbrace{\text{'We aim the strike toward the breast}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ so that[9] $\underbrace{\text{they will die quickly.'}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$

In the following sentence, AGb8.8 'laying the wood on top of the hole' is dependent on having 'gotten the wood.' Pagkatapus to oglugì, $\underbrace{\text{ogpudut kandin to mongo gubuk-gubuk on no mangka-intok no sanga to kayu}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ su $\underbrace{\text{igbabow din du-on du-on to lugì.}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$ 'When he had finished digging the hole $\underbrace{\text{he got small rotten tree branches}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ because $\underbrace{\text{he would use them to lay on top of the hole.}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$' The above Contingent L-sentence correlates with the base of a Simple Sentence and the Postposed Cause Margin.

In the following sentence, AGb12.16, 'picking up the chicken' is dependent on having 'jumped over to it'. This Contingent L-sentence correlates with bases of a Coordinate Sentence. The second base is transformable to a Postposed

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[9] Function words have usually been relegated to the grammar rather than to the lexicon. Assuming, however, that in each mode--whether phonology, grammar, or lexicon--all the data must be accounted for, such particles as pada 'so that/in order to' presumably have some lexical function as well. The lexical function here may be simply that of marking contingence in a contingent L-sentence. To contrast the G-functions and L-functions of pada: (1) In the grammar, pada is a relator in relator-axis (dependent) sentences. (2) In the lexicon pada is simply a marker of contingence in the contingent L-sentence. Within grammar itself both relators (e.g. 'because', 'although', 'when') and markers (e.g. 'and', 'but', 'or') are found. Probably only the latter sort of function words need be posited for the lexicon.

Purpose Margin substituting for an activity in the chronological sequence. First, the sentence is given as it occurs in the discourse followed by its transform possibility. *Pagkita ni Amandu Ubang to nakasangkag on*, $\underbrace{\textit{piglapugad din on}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ *aw* $\underbrace{\textit{dawata din.}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$ 'When Amandu Ubang saw him sprawled, $\underbrace{\text{he jumped over to it}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ and $\underbrace{\text{picked it up.}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$' --- *Pagkita ni Amandu Ubang to nakasangkag on*, $\underbrace{\textit{piglapugad din on}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ *agun* $\underbrace{\textit{dawata din.}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$ 'When Amandu Ubang saw him sprawled, $\underbrace{\text{he jumped over to it}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ in order to $\underbrace{\text{pick it up.}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$'

In the following sentence, AGb8.12, 'getting the pig' (*Contingent*$_1$ in the linear order) is dependent on 'lowering the ladder down into the hole'. This *Contingent* L-sentence correlates with the bases of a *Conditional Sentence* (the bases are permuted both in the grammar and in the lexicon). *Monang* $\underbrace{\textit{ogkapudut}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$ *ko* $\underbrace{\textit{ogtuntunan to hagdan diyà to sood to lugì.}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$ '$\underbrace{\text{It (the pig) could be gotten}}_{\text{contingent}_2}$ only after $\underbrace{\text{a ladder was lowered to the inside of the hole.}}_{\text{contingent}_1}$'

2.3.5 *L-Sentence Type V*, Lexical Simultants (+ *Simultant*$_1$ + *Simultant*$_2$)

The nucleus of L-sentence Type V consists of + *Simultant*$_1$ + *Simultant*$_2$. Actions or states in this L-sentence are related by occurring at the same time. Between simultants sequence marking particles such as *dayun* 'then' do not occur. Simultaneous L-sentences usually correlate within the boundaries of a single G-sentence, i.e. between bases, or base and a margin, or base and a phrase amplification of an item in the base. However, the simultaneous L-sentence may correlate with the bases of two G-sentences. In this circumstance, these G-sentences usually expound TEXT and EXPO of an embedded EXPLANATORY G-paragraph. Embedded L-sentences may occur in the *Simultaneous* L-sentences. When the correlation is within G-sentence boundaries the following are the more common types of G-sentences: *Juxtaposed*, *Merged*, *Coordinate*, *Indirect Quote*, and *Cognitive*.

The following lexical Simultants correlate with the bases of a Juxtaposed Sentence, JG 4.3. Na ko sikan on no buwan, oglahok-lahok ad diyà to guwangan, ogpangahà a to tipdas no ogbogas. 'Now when it is that month, I tramp the woods looking for a tipdas tree that is bearing fruit.'

The following lexical Simultants correlate with a Coordinate Sentence with an embedded Cognitive Sentence, JG 4.11. Dayun ogpahonok kid diyà to sood to lubungan asta oghina-at kid ogpamili to tunud no matuy-id. 'Then we keep quiet inside the birdblind and get ready/prepare by selecting the straight arrows.'

No examples of Merged Sentence occur in this corpus of discourses. The following example from another source exemplifies lexical Simultants correlating with the bases of a Merged Sentence. JGb7.14) Dayun du-on to nighipanow kandin nigbababa on to binaka-usan no babuy. 'Then he left there packing the wrapped pork on his back.'

The following are lexical Simultants correlated with an embedded Indirect Quote Sentence in the Time Margin of JG 3.16. Na ko aha-on nud to ogkamatoy on, punduhid togpandugsù... 'Now when you see that it (the pig) is dying already, stop until it slips down...'

The following are lexical Simultants correlating with the bases of two Simple Sentences, one filling the TEXT and the other the EXPO of an embedded EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH which itself fills a BUILD-UP in the NARRATIVE PARAGRAPH. JG4.14-15 (JG 4.14) Na ko makita-an nud, dayun ogpana-on tad to tunud. (JG 4.15) Dini ta to ogpa-igu-an to dagaha pada ogkisanon. (JG 4.14) 'Now when you see them then we shoot them with an arrow. (JG 4.15) We aim the strike toward the breast so it will die quickly.'

Lexical Simultants may correlate with a Sentence Base and a Postposed Time Margin expounded by a Relator-Axis Sentence as is seen in JG 1.3 where such a construction occurs in the Purpose Margin. Na sikan bidyù, moydu-on guma no igbagkot ta dini to tawoy no pada oghiknaton ta ko ogpanà ki. 'Now the metal arrow has a rubber which we have tied to one end so that we can stretch it when we shoot.'

An example occurs in a specific narrative, AGb12.10 which shows the same correlation as the above but the postposed Time Margin employs the gerund form pag-. Pagdinog din to nigtaga-uk on nigpakikilos on kandin to pagpaminog dow tumbak on to kadlaganon no nighahapun diyà to sagpod to sanga to lampinudog no kayu. 'When he heard him crow he held his breath while listened (to hear) whether the wild chicken roosting on the lower branch of the lampinudog tree would answer.'

The following example from outside the corpus also employs the gerund form pag-. Kagi ni Maam, "Si-akon to bantayan nu to pagsakoy." 'Maam said, "You must watch me when (we) ride (the airplane)."'

The following example comes from outside the corpus of GAME PROCUREMENT DISCOURSES. Simultant$_1$ and Simultant$_2$ correlate with the Nucleus of a Simple Sentence and the Preposed Time Margin. The Time Margin is expounded by a clause whose verb has the immediate dependent tense. LK26.21 Likat koy du-on to Pagsabangan, niglayag to lansa to Tagum (River). 'Leaving Pagsabangan, we sailed in a launch down the Tagum River.'

2.3.6 L-Sentence Type VI, Delineatory L-Sentence (+ The Delineated + Delineator)

The nucleus of L-sentence Type VI, the Delineatory L-sentence consists of + the Delineated + Delineator. The Delineator tells something of the Delineated as to what or where it is, has, or is like. It may tell how the Delineated is involved in an action. In the Delineatory L-sentences noted to date either the Delineated or the Delineator is not in the chronological sequence. The two parts of the Delineatory L-sentence, the Delineated and the Delineator may correlate with G-sentences expounding TEXT and EXPO respectively of an EXPLANATORY G-paragraph. The Delineatory L-sentence may correlate with the Nucleus of an embedded or nonembedded Simple G-sentence and a phrase amplification of some item in that sentence. This L-sentence type may also correlate with a G-sentence Nucleus and its Condition Margin.[10]

In the following example of a Delineatory L-sentence the Delineated correlates with the Nucleus of a Simple Sentence expounding the TEXT of an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH and the Delineator correlates with an Equational Sentence expounding the EXPO of the same paragraph. JG 1.1-2 (JG 1.1) Una,
ogdaa ki to daduwa no katingub. (JG 1.2) Iyan ngadan sikan to
delineated delinea-
mongo antipada asta bidyù. (JG 1.1) 'First, we take two pieces
tor delinea-
of equipment. (JG 1.2) The names of these are the goggles and
ted delineator
the metal arrow.'

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[10] The possibility of the delineatory L-sentence correlating with G-sentences expounding a BUILD-UP and a PARENS in narrative paragraphs has not been determined from a larger corpus of texts.

The following is an example of a Delineatory L-sentence correlating with the Nucleus of a Simple Sentence which expounds the TEXT and with an Equational Sentence which expounds the EXPO of an EXPLANATORY PARAGRAPH. This Delineatory L-sentence has an embedded Delineatory sentence in the Delineated which correlates with the Nucleus of the same Simple Sentence above; in this embedded L-sentence a phrase amplification of one of the items in the G-sentence is exponent of Delineator. JG 1.7-8 (JG 1.7) Dayun ko makumplitu sikan daduwa no katingub, og-andiyà kid to wohig, no madag-an

delineated delineator
delineated

to isdà, (JG 1.8) Iyan ngadan sikan no wohig to Magtagoktok.

delineator

(JG 1.7) 'Then when those two pieces of equipment are complete we go to the river that has a lot of fish.

delineated delineator
delineated

(JG 1.8) The name of that river is "Magtagoktok".'

delineator

The following are examples of Delineatory L-sentences which correlate with Condition Margin and the Nucleus of a Simple Sentence. The Delineator of the following Delineatory L-sentence occurs within the (discontinuous) Delineated and correlates with a Condition Margin which occurs within the (discontinuous) Nucleus of a Simple Sentence. JG 2.7 Na ko aha-on nud to konad ogpaka-isù, igbogoy tad ko moy duma nu

delineated...delineator

no batà, sikan ambak. 'Now when you see that it can not move,

...delineated

we give (him), if you have a child companion, the frogs.

delineated... delineator ...delineated

JG 3.13 is a Simple Sentence whose Cause Margin is expounded by a Coordinate Sentence. The bases of the embedded Coordinate Sentence are expounded by Simple Sentences each having a Condition Margin. Each of these Simple Sentences with Condition Margin correlates with a Delineatory L-sentence with permuted L-bases. Na dì ogdaa kad su ko ma-aslag,

delineator

madoson man oglaguwat, asta ko moy ngipon, iyan ogpakapalì ikow.

delineated delineator delineated

(JG 3.13) 'Now you must keep the upper hand because if it is big,
delineator

it struggles hard, and if it has tusks, it can wound you.'
delineated delineator delineated

The following Delineatory L-sentence correlates with the Nucleus of a Simple Sentence and a phrase amplification of one of the items in the sentence. JG 1.3 Na sikan bidyù,
deline-

moydu-on guma no igbagkot ta dini to tawoy no pada oghiknaton
ated deline-

ta ko ogpanà ki. 'Now the metal arrow, has a rubber which
ator delineated

we have tied to one end so that we can stretch it when we shoot.'
delineator

2.3.7 L-Sentence Type VII, Reportorial L-Sentence (+ Reporting + Report)

L-Sentence Type VII, the Reportorial L-Sentence consists of + Reporting + Report which is in the chronological sequence only when it substitutes for an activity or state. Reportorial L-sentences correlating with G-constructions in such discourse slots as TITLE and FINIS are not in the chronological sequence of the narrative proper, but are considered to be simply metalanguage, i.e. language about language.

Reportorial L-sentences correlate with Quote G-sentences or noun phrases whose head may be a derived noun as occurs in TITLE or FINIS of a discourse. The Reportorial L-sentence may correlate with an amplified noun phrase.

In the following two Reportorial L-sentences the reporting is in the chronological sequence. In both sentences the Report is also in the chronological sequence since it substitutes for the activity itself. JG 4.9-11 (JG 4.9) Dayun ko umabut ad diyà to di-atas, og-iling ad to "Utù, ihikot on ton
reporting re-

mongo kayu asta ton bahì su oghimuhan tad to lubungan." (JG 4.10)
port

Na ko ogkata-pusan on to paghimu, og-iling ad to "Utù, pamonhik
reporting

kad su ogtagù kid." (JG 4.11) Dayun ogpahonok kid diyà to sood
report

to lubungan asta oghina-at kid ogpamilì to tunud no matuy-id.
(JG 4.9) 'Then when I reach/arrive the top, I say, "Son,
reporting
tie up the round wood and the palm (for elevating) because
report
we'll make it into a birdblind.' (JG 4.10) Now when we have
finished making it, I say, "Son, you climb up because we'll
reporting report
go inside." (JG 4.11) Then we keep quiet inside the birdblind and get ready by selecting the straight arrows.'

The Reports of the two following Reportorial L-sentences are not in the chronological sequence since they do not substitute for the activity of 'going'. JG 2.12-14 (JG 2.12)
Dayun og-ikagi kid to "Ogkuwà kid, Utù." (JG 2.13) Na
reporting report
og-iling on sikan duma nu no batà, "Na!" (JG 2.14) Dayun
reporting report
oghipanow on kandan padoog diyà to kandan baoy. (JG 2.12)
'Now we will say, "Let's go, Son." (JG 2.13) Now your child
reporting report report-
companion will say, "O.K." (JG 2.14) Then they will go bound
ing report
for their house.'

The following example is from outside the corpus although it is on the same subject of game procurement. It occurs in a phrase of the metalanguage of the FINIS of the discourse, and is of course not in the chronological sequence of the narrative proper. The head of the phrase is a noun derived from the verb 'to tell/relate'. AG 9.3 Sikan dà kan tutuwanon
report-
ku kan anggam ku no manitingon. 'That is all of my report
ing report reporting
noun phrase noun
about my uncle who is a hunter.
report
phrase

The following example is also from outside the corpus. It is a Reportorial L-sentence correlating with the head and the amplification of an amplified noun phrase. AW 187 "Adu-a man

to batà ku no naka-ikagi to mahan-ing to sodà din." '"Too bad
n. head amp
reporting report

for my child who said he has a lot of viand."'
n. head amp
reporting report

The above sentence is a Direct Quote Sentence with a phrase amplification of one of the items in the sentence. The embedded Indirect Quote is contained in the phrase amplification.

	Lexicon	Grammar
Σ	L-DISCOURSE (OCCURRENCE)	G-DISCOURSE (PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE)=
T	STEPS (PREPARATION, CONTACT, OPERATION):	EPISODES/CLIMAX (etc.):
Σ	L-PARAGRAPHS (NARR, METALANGUAGE SPEECH)=	G-PARAGRAPHS (NARR, EXPL, DIAL)=
T	EVENTS, (etc.):	BUILD-UPS, (etc.):
Σ	L-sentences (7 types at present)=	G-sentences (many types)=
T	L-bases and L-markers:	G-bases and G-markers:
Σ	L-Clauses (Incident) and Conjunctions (of all sorts)	G-Clauses and Conjunctions (non subordinating)

Summary Chart of Lexical and Grammatical Units in

Dibabawon PROCEDURAL NARRATIVE DISCOURSE

(Σ and T respectively symbolize syntagmeme and tagmeme.
The sign = symbolizes 'composed of'. The sign : symbolizes 'expounded by'.)

Note on Orthographies

The orthographies used to transcribe data in this report are those currently in use in preparation of reading materials in the various languages. In general the symbols have much their traditional value. The following exceptions may be noted: [ŋ] is written with the sequence ng as in the National Language equivalent; ɨ (schwa) is written in various languages as e (Bontoc, Kalamian Tagbanwa), o (Dibabawon), é (Balangao), and u (Mansaka).

Glottal stop has various orthographic forms; q (including word initial in Kalinga); - (usually only written when following a consonant and preceding a vowel as in Agta, Itneg, and Bontoc); ˋ (Atta Negrito, Siocon Subanon, Western Bukidnon Manobo, and Tagabili); ^ (denotes glottal + length/stress in Atta); ' (adapted for Batak throughout this paper); - and ' (the former occurs after a consonant, the latter after a vowel as in Ilianen Manobo and Tausug); ' and - (the former occurs word final and the latter occurs syllable initial in Kalagan); ˋ (occurs syllable final in Balangao); ˋ and - (the former occurs syllable final and the latter occurs word medial as second member of a consonant cluster in Binukid Manobo). Generally, glottal stop is not written word initially or intervocalically.

In several languages, stem reduplication is separated by a hyphen (Dibabawon, Binukid Manobo, and Kalamian Tagbanwa).

For a typical orthography, see Volume I, page 196, footnote 1.